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TRANSACTIONS
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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

I. *Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus. Part V. By HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq., Dir. R.A.S.*

Read April 7th, 1827.

INTRODUCTION.

A PRECEDING essay on Indian philosophy* contained a succinct account of the *Carma-mímánsá*. The present one will be devoted to the *Brahma-mímánsá*; which, as the complement of the former, is termed *uttara*, later, contrasted with *púrva*, prior, being the investigation of proof deducible from the *védas* in regard to *theology*, as the other is in regard to *works* and their merit. The two together, then, comprise the complete system of interpretation of the precepts and doctrine of the *védas*, both practical and theological. They are parts of one whole. The later *mímánsá* is supplementary to the prior, and is expressly affirmed to be so: but, differing on many important points, though agreeing on others, they are essentially distinct in a religious as in a philosophical view.

The ordinary designation of the *uttara mímánsá* is *védánta*, a term likewise of more comprehensive import. It literally signifies "conclusion of the *véda*," and bears reference to the *upanishads*, which are, for the most part, terminating sections of the *védas* to which they belong. It implies, however, the doctrine derived from them, and extends to books of sacred

* Vol. i. p. 439.

authority, in which that doctrine is thence deduced; and in this large acceptance, it is "the end and scope of the *védas*."

The followers of the *védánta* have separated in several sects, as 'ancient' and 'modern' *véddántins*, and bearing other designations. The points on which they disagree, and the difference of their opinions, will not be a subject of the present essay, but may be noticed in a future one.

Among numerous *upanishads*, those which are principally relied upon for the *védánta*, and which accordingly are most frequently cited, are the *Ch'hándógya*, *Caushítací*, *Vrîhad-aran'yaca*, *Aitaréyaca*, *Tuittirîyaca*, *Cá'haca*, *Ca'havallí*, *Muîd'aca*, *Pras'na*, *S'wétás'watara*; to which may be added the *I'sá-vásya*, *Céna*, and one or two more.

Certain religious exercises, consisting chiefly in profound meditation, with particular sitting postures rigorously continued, are inculcated as preparing the student for the attainment of divine knowledge, and promoting his acquisition of it. Directions concerning such devout exercises are to be found in several of the *upanishads*, especially in the *S'wétás'watara*; and likewise in other portions of the *védas*, as a part of the general ritual. These are accordingly cited by the commentators of the *védánta*; and must be considered to be comprehended under that general term;* and others from different *śáchas* of the *védas*, as further exemplified in a note below.†

Besides the portion of the *védas* understood to be intended by the designation of *védánta*, the grand authority for its doctrine is the collection of *sútras*, or aphorisms, entitled *Brahme-sútra* or *S'ártraca mímánsá*, and sometimes *S'árîra-sútra* or *Védánta-sútra*. *S'árîra*, it should be observed, signifies embodied or incarnate (soul).

Other authorities are the ancient scholia of that text, which is the standard work of the science; and didactic poems comprehended under the designation of *smṛiti*, a name implying a certain degree of veneration due to the authors. Such are the *Bhagavad gîtá* and *Yôga-vasish'tha*, reputed to be inspired writings.

* For instance, the *Agni rahasya bráhmána* of the *Cánwas* and of the *Vájins* (or *Vájas'anéyins*); the *Rahasya bráhmána* of the *Tándins* and of the *Paingins*.

† The *Udgî'tha-bráhmána* of the *Vájas'anéyins*, the *Panchâgni-vidyâ-pracaran'a* of the same, the *C'hila grant'ha* of the *Rân'áyanîyas*, the *Prân'a samvâda* or *Prân'a vidyâ*, *Dahara vidyâ*, *Hárda vidyâ*, *Paramâtma-vidyâ*, *Satya vidyâ*, *Vaiswánara-vidyâ*, *Són'dilya-vidyâ*, *Vámadévyâ vidyâ*, *Upacós'ala-vidyâ*, *Paryanca-vidyâ*, *Madhú-vidyâ*, *Shódas'acala-vidyâ*, *Samvarga-vidyâ*, &c.

Writers on the VÉDĀNTA.

The *S'áriraca mímánsá* or *Brahme-sútra*, above-mentioned, is a collection of succinct aphorisms attributed to BĀDARĀYAÑA, who is the same with VYĀSA or *Véda-vydsa*; also called *Dwaipdyana* or *Crishn'a-dwaipdyana*. According to mythology, he had in a former state, being then a *bráhmāna* bearing the name of APĀNTARA-TAMAS,* acquired a perfect knowledge of revelation and of the divinity, and was consequently qualified for eternal beatitude. Nevertheless, by special command of the deity, he resumed a corporeal frame and the human shape, at the period intervening between the third and fourth ages of the present world, and was compiler of the *védas*, as his title of *Vydsa* implies.

In the *Purán'as*, and by PARÁS'ARA, he is said to be an incarnation (*avatára*) of VISHNÚ. This, however, is not altogether at variance with the foregoing legend; since APĀNTARA-TAMAS, having attained perfection, was identified with the deity; and his resumption of the human form was a descent of the god, in mythological notions.

Apart from mythology, it is not to be deemed unlikely, that the person (whoever he really was) who compiled and arranged the *védas*, was led to compose a treatise on their scope and essential doctrine. But VYĀSA is also reputed author of the *Mahábhārata*, and most of the principal *purán'as*; and that is for the contrary reason improbable, since the doctrine of the *purán'as*, and even of the *Bhagavad gítá* and the rest of the *Mahábhārata*, are not quite consonant to that of the *védas*, as expounded in the *Brahme sútras*. The same person would not have deduced from the same premises such different conclusions.

The name of BĀDARĀYAÑA frequently recurs in the *sútras* ascribed to him, as does that of JAIMINI, the reputed author of the *Púrva mímánsá*, in his. I have already remarked, in the preceding essay,† on the mention of an author by his name, and in the third person, in his own work. It is nothing unusual in literature or science of other nations: but a Hindu commentator will account for it, by presuming the actual composition to be that of a disciple recording the words of his teacher.

Besides BĀDARĀYAÑA himself, and his great predecessor JAIMINI, several other distinguished names likewise occur, though less frequently: some which are also noticed in the *Púrva-mímánsá*, as ATRÉYI and BĀDARI; and

* *Sanc. &c. on Br. Sútr.* 3. 3. 32.

† Vol. i. p. 440.

some which are not there found, as ASMARAT'HYA, AUD'ULÓMI, CÁRSHĀJINI, and CÁŚACRĪTSNA; and the *Yōga* of *Patanjali*, which consequently is an anterior work; as indeed it must be, if its scholiast, as generally acknowledged, be the same VYĀSA who is the author of the aphorisms of the *Uttara mīmāṃsā*.

The *S'árīra* is also posterior to the atheistical *Sāṅkhya* of CAPILA, to whom, or at least to his doctrine, there are many marked allusions in the text.

The atomic system of CAÑĀDE (or, as the scholiast of the *S'árīra*, in more than one place, contumeliously designates him, CAÑĀ-BHUJ or CAÑĀ-BHACSHA) is frequently adverted to for the purpose of confutation; as are the most noted heretical systems, viz. the several sects of *Jainas*, the *Bauddhas*, the *Pśūpatas* with other classes of *Mūhēśwaras*, the *Pāñcharātras* or *Bhāgavatas*, and divers other schismatics.

From this, which is also supported by other reasons, there seems to be good ground for considering the *S'árīra* to be the latest of the six grand systems of doctrine (*darsana*) in Indian philosophy: later, likewise, than the heresies which sprung up among the Hindus of the military and mercantile tribes (*cshatriya* and *vaiśya*) and which, disclaiming the *Vēdas*, set up a *Jina* or a *Buddha* for an object of worship; and later even than some, which, acknowledging the *Vēdas*, have deviated into heterodoxy in their interpretation of the text.

In a separate essay,* I have endeavoured to give some account of the heretical and heterodox sects which the *S'árīra* confutes; and of which the tenets are explained, for the elucidation of that confutation, in its numerous commentaries. I allude particularly to the *Jainas*, *Bauddhas*, *Chārvācas*, *Pśūpatas*, and *Pāñcharātras*.

The *sūtras* of BĀDARĀYAṆA are arranged in four books or lectures (*ādhyāya*), each subdivided into four chapters or quarters (*pāda*). Like the aphorisms of the prior *mīmāṃsā*, they are distributed very unequally into sections, arguments, cases, or topics, (*adhicārāṇa*.) The entire number of *sūtras* is 555; of *adhicārāṇas*, 191. But in this there is a little uncertainty, for it appears from S'ANCARA, that earlier commentaries subdivided some *adhicārāṇas*, where he writes the aphorisms in one section.

An *adhicārāṇa* in the later, as in the prior *mīmāṃsā*, consists of five members or parts: 1st. the subject and matter to be explained; 2d. the

* Vol. i. p. 549.

doubt or question concerning it ; 3d. the plausible solution or *primâ facie* argument : 4th. the answer, or demonstrated conclusion and true solution ; 5th. the pertinence or relevancy and connexion.

But in BĀDARĀYAṆA's aphorisms, as in those of JAIMINI, no *adhicaran'a* is fully set forth. Very frequently the solution only is given by a single *sūtra*, which obscurely hints the question, and makes no allusion to any different plausible solution, nor to arguments in favour of it. More rarely the opposed solution is examined at some length, and arguments in support of it are discussed through a string of brief sentences.

Being a sequel of the prior *mīmāṃsā*, the latter adopts the same distinctions of six sources of knowledge or modes of proof* which are taught by JAIMINI, supplied where he is deficient by the old scholiast. There is, indeed, no direct mention of them in the *Brahme-sūtras*, beyond a frequent reference to oral proof, meaning revelation, which is sixth among those modes. But the commentators make ample use of a logic which employs the same terms with that of the *pūrva mīmāṃsā*, being founded on it, though not without amendments on some points. Among the rest, the *Vēdāntins* have taken the syllogism (*nyāya*) of the dialectic philosophy, with the obvious improvement of reducing its five members to three.† “It consists,” as expressly declared, “of three, not of five parts ; “for as the requisites of the inference are exhibited by three members, “two more are superfluous. They are either the proposition, the reason, “and the example ; or the instance, the application, and the conclusion.”

In this state it is a perfectly regular syllogism, as I had occasion to remark in a former essay ;‡ and it naturally becomes a question, whether the emendation was borrowed from the Greeks, or being sufficiently obvious, may be deemed purely Indian, fallen upon without hint or assistance from another quarter. The improvement does not appear to be of ancient date, a circumstance which favours the supposition of its having been borrowed. The earliest works in which I have found it mentioned are of no antiquity.§

The logic of the two *mīmāṃsās* merits a more full examination than the limits of the present essay allow, and it has been reserved for a separate consideration at a future opportunity, because it has been refined and

* *Vēdānta Paribhāṣā*.

† *V. Paribhāṣā*.

‡ Vol. i. p. 116.

§ In the *Vēdānta Paribhāṣā* and *Padārtha dīpicā*.

brought into a regular form by the followers, rather than by the founders of either school.

The *śāriraca sūtras* are in the highest degree obscure, and could never have been intelligible without an ample interpretation. Hinting the question or its solution, rather than proposing the one or briefly delivering the other, they but allude to the subject. Like the aphorisms of other Indian sciences, they must from the first have been accompanied by the author's exposition of the meaning, whether orally taught by him or communicated in writing.

Among ancient scholiasts of the *Brahme-sūtras* the name of BAUDHĀYANA occurs: an appellation to which reverence, as to that of a saint or *rishi*, attaches. He is likewise the reputed author of a treatise on law. An early gloss, under the designation of *vṛtti*, is quoted without its author's name, and is understood to be adverted to in the remarks of later writers, in several instances, where no particular reference is however expressed. It is apparently BAUDHĀYANA'S. An ancient writer on both *mīmāṃsā*s (prior and later) is cited, under the name of UPAVARSHA, with the epithet of venerable (*bhagavat*),* implying that he was a holy personage. He is noticed in the supplement to the *Amera-cōsha*† as a saint (*muni*), with the titles or additions of *Hala-bhr̥ti*, *Cṛita-cō'i*, and *Ayachita*. It does not appear that any of his works are now forthcoming.

The most distinguished scholiast of these *sūtras*, in modern estimation, is the celebrated S'ANCARA ĀCHĀRYA, the founder of a sect among Hindus which is yet one of the most prevalent. I have had a former occasion of discussing the antiquity of this eminent person; and the subject has been since examined by RĀMA MÓHEN RĀYA and by Mr. Wilson.‡ I continue of opinion, that the period when he flourished may be taken to have been the close of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century of the Christian era; and I am confirmed in it by the concurring opinions of those very learned persons.

How much earlier the older scholia were, or the text itself, there is no evidence to determine. If the reputed author be the true one, it would be necessary to go back nearly two thousand years, to the era of the arrangement of the *vēdas* by VYĀSA.

S'ANCARA'S gloss or perpetual commentary of the *sūtras* bears the title of

* *Sanc.* 3. 3. 53.

† *Tricānd. śēsh.*

‡ *Sans. Dict.*, pref. xvi.

S'áríracā-mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya. It has been annotated and interpreted by a herd of commentators; and among others, and most noted, by VĀCHESPATI MIS'RA, in the *Bhāmātī* or *S'áríracā-bhāṣya-vibhāga*.

This is the same VĀCHESPATI, whose commentaries on the *Sāṅc'hya-cāricā* of IS'WARA CHANDRA, and on the text and gloss of PATANJALI'S *Yōga* and GÓTAMA'S *Nyāya*, were noticed in former essays.* He is the author of other treatises on dialectics (*Nyāya*), and of one entitled (*Tatwa-vindu*) on the *pūrva mīmāṃsā*, as it is expounded by BHAT'T'A. All his works, in every department, are held in high and deserved estimation.

VĀCHESPATI'S exposition of S'ANCARA'S gloss, again, has been amply annotated and explained in the *Védānta-calpataru* of ANALĀNANDA, surnamed *Vyāsāśrama*; whose notes, in their turn, become the text for other scholia: especially a voluminous collection under the title of *Parimala*, or *Védānta-calpataru-parimala*, by APYĀYA-DĪCŚHITA (author of several other works); and an abridged one, under that of *Védānta-calpataru-manjarī*, by VIDYĀNĀT'HIA-BHAT'T'A.

Other commentaries on S'ANCARA'S gloss are numerous and esteemed, though not burdened with so long a chain of scholia upon scholia: for instance, the *Brahma-vidyābharaṇā* by ADWAITĀNANDA,† and the *Bhāṣya-ratna-prabhā* by GÓVINDĀNANDA: both works of acknowledged merit.

These multiplied expositions of the text and of the gloss furnish an inexhaustible fund of controversial disquisition, suited to the disputatious schoolmen of India. On many occasions, however, they are usefully consulted, in succession, for annotations supplying a right interpretation of obscure passages in S'ANCARA'S scholia or in VYASA'S text.

Another perpetual commentary on the *sūtras* of the *S'áríracā* by a distinguished author, is the work of the celebrated RĀMĀNUJA, the founder of

* Vol. i. pp. 24, 25, 93.

† It is by Mr. Ward named *védānta sūtra vyāc'hya* by BRAHME-VIDYĀBHARAṆ'A, mistaking the title of the work for the appellation of the author. Yet it is expressly affirmed in the rubric and colophon to be the work of ADWAITĀNANDA, who abridged it from an ampler commentary by RĀMĀNANDA TĪRT'HA. The mistake is the more remarkable, as the same ADWAITĀNANDA was preceptor of SADĀNANDA, whose work, the *védānta-sāra*, Mr. Ward attempted to translate; and the only part of SADĀNANDA'S preface, which is preserved in the version, is that preceptor's name. Mr. Ward's catalogue of treatises extant belonging to this school of philosophy exhibits other like errors. He puts *Mādhava* for *Madhusūdana*, the name of an author; converts a commentary (the *muktāvalī*) into an abridgment; and turns the text (*mūla*) of the *védānta-sāra* into its essence. *Ward's Hindus*, vol. iv. pp. 172, 173.

a sect which has sprung as a schism out of the *Védāntin*. The points of doctrine, on which these great authorities differ, will be inquired into in another place. It may be readily supposed that they are not unfrequently at variance in the interpretation of the text, and I shall, therefore, make little use of the scholia of RĀMĀNUJA for the present essay. For the same reason, I make no reference to the commentaries of BALLABHA A'CHĀRYA, BHAT'T'A BHĀSCARA, ANANTA TĪRT'HA surnamed MADHU, and NĪLACANT'HA, whose interpretations differ essentially on some points from S'ANCARA'S.

Commentaries on the *S'árīracā sūtras* by authors of less note are extremely numerous. I shall content myself with naming such only as are immediately under view, *viz.* the *Védānta-sūtra-muktāvali* by BRAHMĀNANDA-SARASWATĪ;* the *Brahma-sūtra-bhāshya* or *Mīmāṃsā-bhāshya*, by BHĀSCARĀCHĀRYA; the *Védānta-sūtra-vyāc'hya-chandricā*, by BHAVADĒVA MIS'RA; the *Vyāsa-sūtra-vṛtti*, by RANGANĀT'HA; the *Subōdhinī* or *S'árītra-sūtra sārār't'ha chandricā*, by GANGĀDHARA; and the *Brahmāmṛita-vershin'i*, by RĀMĀNANDA.

This list might with ease be greatly enlarged. Two of the commentaries, which have been consulted in progress of preparing the present essay, are without the author's name, either in preface or colophon, in the only copies which I have seen; and occasions have occurred for noticing authors of commentaries on other branches of philosophy, as well as on the *Brahma mīmāṃsā* (for instance, VIJNYĀNA BHICSHU, author of the *Sānc'hya-sāra* and *Yōga-vārtica*).†

To these many and various commentaries in prose, on the text and on the scholia, must be added more than one in verse. For instance, the *Sancshēpa-s'árīracā*, which is a metrical paraphrase of text and gloss, by SARVAJNYĀTMA-GĪRĀ a *sannyāsi*: it is expounded by a commentary entitled *Anwayārt'ha-pracās'icā*, by RĀMA TĪRT'HA, disciple of CRĪSHNĀ TĪRT'HA, and author of several other works; in particular, a commentary on the *Upadēśa-sahasrī*, and one on the *Védānta-sāra*.

Besides his great work, the interpretation of the *sūtras*, S'ANCARA wrote commentaries on all the principal or important *Upanishads*. His preceptor, GÓVINDA, and the preceptor's teacher, GAUD'APĀDA, had already written commentaries on many of them.

S'ANCARA is author, likewise, of several distinct treatises; the most noted

* Mr. Ward calls this an abridgment of the *Védānta-sūtras*. It is no abridgment, but a commentary in ordinary form.

† Vol. i. p. 22.

of which is the *Upadés'a-sahasrí*, a metrical summary of the doctrine deduced by him from the *Upanishads* and *Brahma-sútras*, in his commentaries on those original works. The text of the *Upadés'a-sahasrí* has been expounded by more than one commentator; and among others by RÁMA TÍRT'HA, already noticed for his comment on the *Sancshépa-śáríra*. His gloss of the *Upadés'a-sahasrí* is entitled *Pada-yójanicá*.

Elementary treatises on the *Védánta* are very abundant. It may suffice to notice a few which are popular and in general use, and which have been consulted in the preparation of the present essay.

The *Védánta-paribhášá* of DHARMA-RÁJA DÍCSHITA explains, as its title indicates, the technical terms of the *Védánta*; and, in course of doing so, opens most of the principal points of its doctrine. A commentary on this work by the author's son, RÁMA-CRĪSHNÁ DÍCSHITA, bears the title of *Védánta-śic'hámani*. Taken together, they form an useful introduction to the study of this branch of Indian philosophy.

The *Védánta-sára* is a popular compendium of the entire doctrine of the *Védánta*.* It is the work of SADÁNANDA, disciple of ADWAYÁNANDA or ADWAITÁNANDA before-mentioned, and has become the text for several

* Mr. Ward has given, in the fourth volume of his *View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus* (third edition), a translation of the *Védánta-sára*. I wish to speak as gently as I can of Mr. Ward's performance; but having collated this, I am bound to say it is no version of the original text, and seems to have been made from an oral exposition through the medium of a different language, probably the Bengalese. This will be evident to the oriental scholar on the slightest comparison: for example, the introduction, which does not correspond with the original in so much as a single word, the name of the author's preceptor alone excepted; nor is there a word of the translated introduction countenanced by any of the commentaries. At the commencement of the treatise, too, where the requisite qualifications of a student are enumerated, Mr. Ward makes his author say, that a person possessing those qualifications is heir to the *véda* (p. 176). There is no term in the text, nor in the commentaries, which could suggest the notion of heir; unless Mr. Ward has so translated *adhicdrí* (a competent or qualified person), which in Bengalese signifies proprietor, or, with the epithet *uttara* (*uttarádhi-cdrí*), heir or successor. It would be needless to pursue the comparison further. The meaning of the original is certainly not to be gathered from such translations of this and (as Mr. Ward terms them) of other principal works of the Hindus, which he has presented to the public.

I was not aware, when preparing the former essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus which have been inserted in the first volume of *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, that Mr. Ward had treated the same topics: but I think it now unnecessary to revert to the subject, for the purpose of offering any remarks on his explanation of other branches of Indian philosophy.

commentaries; and, among the rest, the *Vidwan-manó-ranjini*, by RĀMA-TÍRT'HA, who has been already twice noticed for other works; and the *Subódhini*, by NRĪSINHA SARASWATĪ, disciple of CRĪSHNĀNANDA.

A few other treatises may be here briefly noticed.

The *S'ástra-siddhānta-léśa-sangraha*, by APYAYA or (APYAI) *dīcshita*, son of RANGANĀT'HA or RANGARĀJA *dīcshita*, and author of the *Parimāla* on the *Siddhānta Calpataru*, before-mentioned, as well as of other works, has the benefit of a commentary, entitled *Crīshnālacāra*, by ACHYUTA CRĪSHNĀNANDA TÍRT'HA, disciple of SWAYAM-PRACĀS'ĀNANDA SARASWATĪ. The *Vēdānta-siddhānta-vindu*, by MADHUSÚDANA, disciple of VIS'WĒS'WARĀNANDA *saraswatī*, and author of the *Vēdānta-calpa-laticā* and of other works, is in like manner commented on by BRAHMĀNANDA, disciple of NĀRĀYAṆA TÍRT'HA.

Analysis.*

The *uttara mīmāṃsā* opens precisely as the *pūrva*, announcing the purport in the same terms, except a single, but most important word, *brahmé* instead of *dharma*. 'Next, therefore, the inquiry is concerning God.†' It proceeds thus: '[He is that] whence are the birth and [continuance, and dissolution] of this [world]: [He is] the source of [revelation or] holy ordinance.‡' That is, as the commentators infer from these aphorisms so expounded, 'He is the omnipotent creator of the world and the omniscient author of revelation.' It goes on to say, 'This appears from the import and right construction of holy writ.¶'

The author of the *sūtras* next§ enters upon a confutation of the *Sānc'hya*s, who insist that *nature*, termed *pradhāna*, which is the material cause of the universe, as they affirm, is the same with the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the world recognised by the *vēdas*. It is not so; for 'wish' (consequently volition) is attributed to that cause, which moreover is termed (*ātman*) soul: 'He wished to be many and prolific, and became manifold.' And again, 'He desired to be many, &c.....'¶ Therefore he is a sentient rational being; not insensible, as the *pracrīti* (nature) or *pradhāna* (matter) of CAPILA is affirmed to be.

* In this analysis of the *sūtras*, a portion of the scholia or explanations of commentators is blended with the text, for a brief abstract and intelligible summary of the doctrine.

† *Br. Sūtr.* 1. 1. § 1.

‡ *Ib.* § 2 and 3.

¶ *Ib.* § 4.

§ *Ib.* § 5. (*sūtr.* 5. 11.)

¶ *Ch'hāndōgya*, 6.

In the sequel of the first chapter* questions are raised upon divers passages of the *védas*, alluded to in the text, and quoted in the scholia, where minor attributes are seemingly assigned to the world's cause; or in which subordinate designations occur, such as might be supposed to indicate an inferior being, but are shown to intend the supreme one.

The cases (*adhicarañas*) or questions arising on them are examined and resolved concisely and obscurely in the *sútras*, fully and perspicuously in the scholia.

‘The omnipotent, omniscient, sentient cause of the universe, is (*ananda-maya*) essentially happy.† He is the brilliant, golden person, seen *within* (*antar*) the solar orb and the human eye.‡ He is the *etherial* element (*dcdśa*), from which all things proceed and to which all return.§ He is the *breath* (*prāṇa*) in which all beings merge, into which they all rise.|| He is the *light* (*jyōtish*) which shines in heaven, and in all places high and low, every where throughout the world, and within the human person. He is the *breath* (*prāṇa*) and intelligent self, immortal, undecaying, and happy, with which INDRA, in a dialogue with PRATARDANA, identifies himself.’¶

The term *prāṇa*, which is the subject of two of the sections just quoted (§ 9 and 11), properly and primarily signifies respiration, as well as certain other vital actions (inspiration, energy, expiration, digestion, or circulation of nourishment); and secondarily, the senses and organs.** But, in the passages here referred to, it is employed for a different signification, intending the supreme *Brahme*; as also in divers other texts of the *védas*: and, among the rest, in one where the senses are said to be absorbed into it during profound sleep;†† for ‘while a man sleeps without dreaming, his soul is with *Brahme*.’

Further cases of the like nature, but in which the indications of the true meaning appear less evident, are discussed at length in the second and third chapters of the first book. Those in which the distinctive attributes of the supreme being are more positively indicated by the passage whereon a question arises, had been considered in the foregoing chapter: they are not so clearly denoted in the passages now examined. Such as concern God as the object of devout meditation and worship, are for the most part collected in the

* § 6 to § 11.

† *Taittirīya*.

‡ *Ch'hândôgya*, 1.

§ *Ch'hândôgya*, 1.

|| *Udgî'tha*.

¶ *Caushîtaci*.

** *Br. Sûtr.* 2. 4. § 1, 6. (§ 1, 13.)

†† *Sanc. &c. on Br. Sûtr.* 1. 1. § 9.

second chapter: those which relate to God as the object of knowledge, are reserved for the third. Throughout these cases, completed where requisite by the scholiast, divers interpretations of a particular term or phrase are first proposed, as obvious and plausible, and reasons favourable to the proposed explanation set forth; but are set aside by stronger arguments, for a different and opposite construction. The reasoning is here omitted, as it would need much elucidation; and the purpose of this analysis is to exhibit the topics treated, and but summarily the manner of handling them.

It is not the embodied (*śārtra*) and individual soul, but the supreme *Brahme* himself,* on whom devout meditation is to be fixed, as enjoined in a passage which declares: ‘this universe is indeed *Brahme*;* for it springs from him, merges in him, breathes in him: therefore, serene, worship him. Verily, a devout man, as are his thoughts or deeds in this world, such does he become departing hence [in another birth]. Frame then the devout meditation, “a living body endued with mind.....”†

It is neither fire nor the individual soul, but the supreme being, who is the ‘devourer’ (*attri*) described in the dialogue between YAMA and NĀCHICĒTAS:‡ ‘who, then, knows where abides that being, whose food is the priest and the soldier (and all which is fixt or moveable), and death is his sauce?’

In the following passage, the supreme spirit, and not the intellectual faculty, is associated with the individual living soul, as “two occupying the cavity or ventricle of the heart” (*guhām pravishtau ātmanau*). ‘Theologists, as well as worshippers maintaining sacred fires, term light and shade the contrasted two, who abide in the most excellent abode, worthy of the supreme, occupying the cavity (of the heart), dwelling together in the worldly body, and tasting the certain fruit of good (or of evil) works.’§

In the following extract from a dialogue,¶ in which SATYACĀMA instructs UPACÓS’ALA, the supreme being is meant; not the reflected image in the eye, nor the informing deity of that organ, nor the regent of the sun, nor

* *Brahman* is, in this acceptance, a neuter noun (nom. *Brahme* or *Brahma*); and the same term in the masculine (nom. *Brahmā*), is one of the three gods who constitute one person. But it is more conformable with our idiom to employ the masculine exclusively, and many Sanscrit terms of the same import are masculine; as *Paramātmā*-(*tmā*), *Paraméśwara*, &c.

† *Ch’hándógya*, 3. *S’an’d’ilya vidyá*. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 2. § 1. (S. 1, 8.)

‡ *Cat’havallí*, 2. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 2. § 2. (S. 9, 10). § *Cat’havallí*, 3. *Br. S.* 1. 2. § 3. (S. 11, 12.)

¶ *Ch’hándógya*, 4. *Upacósala-vidyá*. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 2. § 4. (S. 13, 17.)

the individual intelligent soul. 'This being, who is seen in the eye, is the self (*ātman*): He is immortal, fearless *Brahme*. Though liquid grease, or water, be dropped therein, it passes to the corners (leaving the eye-ball undefiled).

So, in a dialogue, in which YĀJNYAWALKYA instructs UDDĀLACA,* "the internal check" (*antaryāmin*) is the supreme being; and not the individual soul, nor the material cause of the world, nor a subordinate deity, the conscious informing regent of the earth, nor a saint possessing transcendent power: where premising, 'he who internally restrains (or governs) this and the other world, and all beings therein,' the instructor goes on to say: 'who standing in the earth is other than the earth, whom the earth knows not, whose body the earth is, who interiorly restrains (and governs) the earth: the same is thy soul (and mine), the "internal check" (*antaryāmin*), immortal, &c.'

Again, in another dialogue, ANGIRAS, in answer to MAHĀSĀLA, who with SAUNACA visited him for instruction, declares 'there are two sciences, one termed inferior, the other superior. The inferior comprises the four *védas*, with their appendages, grammar, &c.' (all of which he enumerates): 'but the superior (or best and most beneficial) is that by which the unalterable (being) is comprehended, who is invisible (imperceptible by organs of sense), ungrasped (not prehensible by organs of action), come of no race, belonging to no tribe, devoid of eye, ear (or other sensitive organ), destitute of hand, foot (or other instrument of action), everlasting lord, present every where, yet most minute. Him, invariable, the wise contemplate as the source (or cause) of beings. As the spider puts forth and draws in his thread, as plants spring from the earth (and return to it), as hair of the head and body grows from the living man, so does the universe come of the unalterable.....' Here it is the supreme being, not nature or a material cause, nor an embodied individual soul, who is the invisible (*adrśya*) ungrasped source of (all) beings (*bhūta-yōni*).

In a dialogue between several interlocutors, PRĀCHĪNASĀLA, UDDĀLACA, and AS'WAPATI, king of the *Caicéyis*, (of which a version at length was inserted in an essay on the *védas*, As. Res. vol. viii. p. 446), the terms *vaiśvánara* and *ātman* occur (there translated universal soul). The ordinary acceptance of

* *Vṛihad āraṇ'yaca*, 5. Br. Sūtr. 1. 2. § 5. (S. 18, 20.)

† *Mun'daca*, an *upanishad* of the *At'havana*. Br. Sūtr. 1. 2. § 6. (S. 21, 23.)

vaiśvānara is fire : and it is therefore questioned, whether the element of fire be not here meant, or the regent of fire, that is, the conscious, informing deity of it, or a particular deity described as having an igneous body, or animal heat designated as alvine fire ; and whether likewise *ātman* intends the living, individual soul, or the supreme being. The answer is, that the junction of both general terms limits the sense, and restricts the purport of the passage to the single object to which both terms are applicable : it relates, then, to the supreme being.*

Under this section the author twice cites JAIMINI :† once for obviating any difficulty or apparent contradiction in this place, by taking the term in its literal and etymological sense (universal guide of men), instead of the particular acceptation of fire ; and again, as justifying, by a parallel passage in another *vēda*,‡ an epithet intimating the minute size of the being in question (*prādes'a-mātra*), a span long.§ On this last point other ancient authors are likewise cited : one, AS'MARAT'HYA, who explains it as the result of shrinking or condensation ; the other, BĀDARI, as a fruit of imagination or mental conception.|| Reference is also made to another *s'ác'há* of the *vēda*,¶ where the infinite, supreme soul, is said to occupy the spot between the eye-brows and nose.

‘ That on which heaven and earth and the intermediate transpicuous region are fixt, mind, with the vital airs (or sensitive organs), know to be the one soul (*ātman*) : reject other doctrines. This alone is the bridge of immortality,’** In this passage of an *upanishad* of the *Aṭharvana*, BRAHME is intended, and not any other supposed site (*āyatana*) of heaven, earth, &c.

In a dialogue between NĀREDA and SANATCUMĀRA, the (*bhūman*) “ great ” one, proposed as an object of inquiry for him who desires unlimited happiness, since there is no bliss in that which is finite and small, is briefly defined. ‘ He is great, in whom nought else is seen, heard, or known : but that wherein ought else is seen, heard, or known, is small.’†† Here the supreme being is meant ; not breath (*prāṇa*), which had been previously mentioned as greatest, in a climax of enumerated objects.

* *Ch'hándógya*, 5. *Br. Sūtr.* 1. 2. § 7. (S. 24, 32.)

† *Ib.* S. 28 and 31.

‡ *Vājasaneyi brāhmaṇa*.

§ By an oversight, the expression relative to diminutive dimension was omitted in the translated passage.

|| *Br. Sūtr.* 1. 2. 29. 30.

¶ *Jábála*.

** *Mun'daca. Br. Sūtr.* 1. 3. § 1. (S. 1, 7.)

†† *Ch'hándógya*, 7. *Bhūmavidyá. Br. Sūtr.* 1. 3. § 2. (S. 8, 9.)

So, in a dialogue between YAJNYAWALCYA and his wife GÁRGÍ,* being asked by her, 'the heaven above, and the earth beneath, and the transpicuous region between, and all which has been, is, and will be, whereon are they woven and sewn?' answers, the ether (*ácás'a*); and being further asked, what it is on which ether is woven or sewn? replies, 'the unvaried being, whom *Bráhmaṇas* affirm to be neither coarse nor subtile, neither short nor long.....' It is the supreme being who is here meant.

'The mystic syllable *óm*, composed of three elements of articulation, is a subject of devout meditation; and the efficacy of that meditation depends on the limited or extended sense in which it is contemplated. The question concerning this mode of worship is discussed in a dialogue between PIPPALÁDA and SATYACÁMA.†

If the devotion be restricted to the sense indicated by one element, the effect passes not beyond this world; if to that indicated by two of the elements, it extends to the lunar orb, whence however the soul returns to a new birth; if it be more comprehensive, embracing the import of the three elements of the word, the ascent is to the solar orb, whence, stripped of sin, and liberated as a snake which has cast its slough, the soul proceeds to the abode of *Brahme*, and to the contemplation of (*purusha*) him who resides in a corporeal frame: that is, soul reposing in body (*puri-s'aya*).

That mystic name, then, is applied either to the supreme BRAHME, uniform, with no quality or distinction of parts; or to BRAHME, not supreme, but an effect (*cárya*) diversified, qualified; who is the same with the *Viráj* and *Hiran'ya-garbha* of mythology, born in the mundane egg.

It appears from the latter part of the text, that it is the supreme BRAHME to whom meditation is to be directed, and on whom the thoughts are to be fixed, for that great result of liberation from sin and worldly trammels.

In a passage descriptive of the lesser ventricle of the heart, it is said: 'within this body (*Brahme-pura*) Brahme's abode, is a (*dahara*) little lotus, a dwelling within which is a (*dahara*) small vacuity occupied by ether (*ácás'a*). What that is which is within (the heart's ventricle) is to be inquired, and should be known.‡ A question is here raised, whether that 'ether'

* *Vrik. Arany*, 5. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 3. (S. 10, 12.)

† *Prasna*, an *upanishad* of the *At'harvana*. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 4. (S. 13.)

‡ *Ch'hândógya*, 8. *Dahara-vidyá*. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 5. (S. 14, 21.)

(*dcás'a*) within the ventricle of the heart be the etherial element, or the individual sensitive soul, or the supreme one; and it is pronounced from the context, that the supreme being is here meant.

'The sun shines not therein, nor the moon, nor stars: much less this fire. All shines after his effulgence (reflecting his light), by whose splendour this whole (world) is illumined.*' In this passage it is no particular luminary or mine of light, but the (*prajnya*) intelligent soul (supreme *Brahme*) which shines with no borrowed light.

In the dialogue between YAMA and NACHICÉTAS, before cited, are the following passages.† 'A person (*purusha*) no bigger than the thumb abides in the midst of self;' and again, 'the person no bigger than the thumb is clear as a smokeless flame, lord of the past (present) and future; he is to-day and will be to-morrow: such is he (concerning whom you inquire).' This is evidently said of the supreme ruler, not of the individual living soul.

Another passage of the same *upanishad* ‡ declares: 'this whole universe, issuing from breath (*prána*), moves as it impels: great, terrible, as a clap of thunder. They, who know it, become immortal.' *Brahme*, not the thunderbolt nor wind, is here meant.

'The living soul (*samprasada*) rising from this corporeal frame, attains the supreme light, and comes forth with his identical form.'§ It is neither the light of the sun, nor the visual organ, but BRAHME, that is here meant.

'Ether (*dcás'a*) is the bearer (cause of bearing) of name and form. That, in the midst of which they both are, is BRAHME: it is immortality; it is soul.¶ *A'cás'a* here intends the supreme being, not the element so named.

In a dialogue between YAJNYAWALCYA and JANACA,¶ in answer to an inquiry 'which is the soul?' the intelligent internal light within the heart is declared to be so. This likewise is shown to relate to the supreme one, unaffected by worldly course.

It had been intimated in an early aphorism of the first chapter, that the *védas*, being rightly interpreted, do concur in the same import, as there

* *Mun'daca*, *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 6. (S. 22, 23.) † *Cát'ha*. 4. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 7. (S. 24, 25.)

‡ *Cát'ha*, 6. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 10. (S. 39.)

§ *Ch'hândôgya* 8. *Prajâpati vidyâ*. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 11. (S. 40.)

¶ *Ib.* ad finem, *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 12. (S. 41.)

¶ *Vrîhad Aran'yaca*, 6. *Br. Sûtr.* 1. 3. § 13. (S. 42, 43.)

expressed, concerning the omnipotent and omniscient creator of the universe.* An objection to this conclusion is raised, upon the ground of discrepancy remarked in various texts of the *védas*,† which coincide, indeed, in ascribing the creation to BRAHME, but differ in the order and particulars of the world's development. The apparent contradiction is reconciled, as they agree on the essential points of the creator's attributes; omnipotent and omniscient providence, lord of all, soul of all, and without a second, &c.: and it was not the object of the discrepant passages to declare the precise succession and exact course of the world's formation.

Two more sections are devoted to expound passages which define BRAHME as creator, and which are shown to comport no other construction. In one,‡ cited from a dialogue between AJĀTAS'ATRU and BĀLĀCI, surnamed GĀRGYA, the object of meditation and worship is pronounced to be, 'he who was the maker of those persons just before mentioned (regents of the sun, moon, &c.), and whose work this universe is.'

In the other, cited from a dialogue between YĀJNYAWALCYA and MAITRÉYI,§ soul, and all else which is desirable, are contrasted as mutual objects of affection: 'it is for soul (*âtman*) that opulence, kindred, and all else which is dear, are so; and thereunto soul reciprocally is so; and such is the object which should be meditated, inquired, and known, and by knowledge of whom all becomes known.' This, it is shown, is said of the supreme, not of the individual soul, nor of the breath of life.

Under this last head several authorities are quoted by the author, for different modes of interpretation and reasoning, viz. ASMARAT'HYA, AUDULÔMI and CASACRISTNA, as JAİMİNĪ under the next preceding (§ 5).

The succeeding section|| affirms the important tenet of the *Védānta*, that the supreme being is the material, as well as the efficient, cause of the universe: it is a proposition directly resulting from the tenour of passages of the *védas*, and illustrations and examples adduced.

The first lecture is terminated by an aphorism,¶ intimating that, in the like manner as the opinion of a plastic nature and material cause (termed by the *Sānc'hyas*, *pradhāna*) has been shown to be unsupported by the

* Br. S. 1. 1. § 4.

† Ch'hândôgya, Taittiriya, and Aitareya.

‡ Caushîtaci Brâhmana. Br. S. 1. 4. § 5. (S. 16-18.)

§ Vrihad Aranyaca, Maitrêyi brâhmana. Br. Sûtr. 1. 4. § 6. (S. 19-22.)

|| Br. Sûtr. 1. 4. § 7. (S. 23-27.)

¶ Ibid. § 8 (S. 28.)

text of the *Véda*, and inconsistent with its undoubted doctrine, so, by the like reasoning, the notion of atoms (*an'u* or *paraman'u*) and that of an universal void (*s'unya*), and other as unfounded systems, are set aside in favour of the only consistent position just now affirmed. (*Br. Sútr.* 1.1. § 5 and 1.4. § 7.)

Not to interrupt the connexion of the subjects, I have purposely passed by a digression, or rather several, comprised in two sections of this chapter,* wherein it is inquired whether any besides a regenerate man (or Hindu of the three first tribes) is qualified for theological studies and theognostic attainments; and the solution of the doubt is, that a *s'udra*, or man of an inferior tribe, is incompetent;† and that beings superior to man (the gods of mythology) are qualified.

In the course of this disquisition the noted question of the eternity of sound, of articulate sound in particular, is mooted and examined. It is a favourite topic in both *mímánsás*, being intimately connected with that of the eternity of the *véda*, or revelation acknowledged by them.

I shall not, however, enter into the matter further, in this place, though much remain to be added to the little which was said on it in a former essay.‡

In the fourth chapter of the first lecture, the author returns to the task of confuting the *Sánc'hya* doctrine; and some passages of the *védas*, apparently favouring that doctrine, are differently interpreted by him: 'the indistinct one (*avyacta*) is superior to the great one (*mahat*), and embodied soul (*purusha*) is superior to the indistinct.'§ Here the very same terms, which the *Sánc'hya*s employ for 'intelligence, nature and soul,' are contrasted, with allusion seemingly to the technical acceptations of them. This passage is, however, explained away; and the terms are taken by the *Védántins* in a different sense.

The next instance is less striking and may be briefly dismissed, as may that following it: one relative to *ajá*, alleged to signify in the passage in question|| the *unborn* sempiternal nature (*pracríti*), but explained to intend a *luminous nature* (*pracríti*) noticed in the *Ch'hándógya*; (there is in the text itself an evident allusion to the ordinary acceptation of the word, a

* *Br. Sútr.* 1. 3. § 8, 9. (S. 26-38.)

† *Br. Sútr.* 1. 3. (S. 28-29.)

‡ Vol. 1. p. 446.

§ *Cá't'ha* 3. *Br. Sútr.* 1. 4. § 1. (S. 1-7.)

|| *Swétás'watara. B.S.* 1. 4. § 2. (S. 8-10.)

she-goat): the other concerning the meaning of the words *pancha-panchajanaḥ*, in a passage of the *Vṛihad Aranyaca*,* which a follower of the *Sānc'hya* would construe as bearing reference to five times five (twenty-five) principles; but which clearly relates to five objects specified in the context, and figuratively termed persons (*pancha-jana*).

It is because the *Sānc'hya* doctrine is, in the apprehension of the *Védāntins* themselves, to a certain degree plausible, and seemingly countenanced by the text of the *Vēdas*, that its refutation occupies so much of the attention of the author and his scholiasts. More than one among the sages of the law (DÉVALA in particular is named) have sanctioned the principles of the *Sānc'hya*; and they are not uncountenanced by MENU.† CAPILA himself is spoken of with the reverence due to a saint (*Mahā-Rīshi*) and inspired sage; and his most eminent disciples, as PANCHAS'IC'HIA, &c. are mentioned with like veneration; and their works are dignified with the appellations of *tantra* and *smṛiti* as holy writings, by the *Védāntins*, at the same time that these oppose and refute the doctrine taught by him.

CAPILA, indeed, is named in the *Vēda* itself as possessing transcendent knowledge: but here it is remarked, that the name has been borne by more than one sage; and in particular by VĀSUDÉVA, who slew the sons of SAGARA.‡ This mythological personage, it is contended, is the CAPILA named in the *Vēda*.

The second lecture continues the refutation of CAPILA's *Sānc'hya*, which, it is observed, is at variance with the *smṛitis*, as with the *Vēdas*: and here the name of MENU is placed at the head of them, although the institutes, which bear his name, will be found, as just now hinted, and as subsequently admitted in another section, to afford seeming countenance to *Sānc'hya* doctrines. Such passages are, however, explained away by the *Védāntins*, who rely in this instance, as they do in that of the *Vēda* itself, on other texts, which are not reconcileable to the *Sānc'hya*.

The same argument is, in the following section,§ applied to the setting aside of the *Yōga-smṛiti* of PATANJALI (*Hairan'ya-garbha*), so far as that is inconsistent with the orthodox tenets deduced from the *Vēdas*; and, by parity of reasoning, to CAÑĀDE's atomical scheme; and to other systems which admit two distinct causes (a material and an efficient one) of the universe.

* *Vṛihad Aran.* 6. Br. S. 1. 4. § 3. (S. 11-13.)

† MENU's Institutes, 12. 50.

‡ *Sānc.* on Br. *Sūtr.* 2. 1. § 1. (S. 1-2.)

§ Br. *Sūtr.* 2. 1. § 2 (S. 3.)

The doctrine derived from the tenour of the *Védas* is to be supported, likewise, by reasoning independently of authority. 'The objection, that the cause and effect are dissimilar, is not a valid one: instances of such dissimilarity are frequent. Hair and nails, which are insensible, grow from a sensible animal body; and sentient vermin (scorpions, &c.) spring from inanimate sources (cow-dung, &c.) The argument, too, might be retorted; for, according to the adverse position, sentient beings are produced from an insensible plastic nature.* On these and other arguments the orthodox doctrine is maintainable by reasoning: and by like arguments opinions concerning atoms and an universal void, which are not received by the best persons, may be confuted.†

'The distinction relative to fruition, discriminating one who enjoys and that which is enjoyed, does not invalidate the singleness and identity of BRAHME as cause and effect.‡ The sea is one and not other than its waters; yet waves, foam, spray, drops, froth, and other modifications of it, differ from each other.'

'An effect is not other than its cause. BRAHME is single without a second. He is not separate from the embodied self. He is soul; and the soul is he.§ Yet he does not do that only which is agreeable and beneficial to self. The same earth exhibits diamonds, rock crystals, red orpiment &c.; the same soil produces a diversity of plants; the same food is converted into various excrescences, hair, nails, &c.

'As milk changes to curd, and water to ice, so is BRAHME variously transformed and diversified, without aid of tools or exterior means of any sort.|| In like manner, the spider spins his web out of his own substance; spirits assume various shapes; cranes (*valāca*) propagate without the male; and the lotus proceeds from pond to pond without organs of motion. That BRAHME is intire without parts, is no objection: he is not wholly transformed into worldly appearances. Various changes are presented to the same dreaming soul. Divers illusory shapes and disguises are assumed by the same spirit.¶

BRAHME is omnipotent, able for every act, without organ or instrument.** No motive or special purpose need be assigned for his creation of the universe, besides his will.††

* *Br Sūtr.* 2. 1. § 3. (S. 4. 11.) † *Ibid.* § 4. (S. 12.) ‡ *Ibid.* § 5. (S. 13.)
 § *Ibid.* § 6. (S. 14-20) and § 7. (S. 21-23.) || *Ibid.* § 8. (S. 24-25.)
 ¶ *Ibid.* § 9. (S. 26-29.) ** *Ibid.* § 10. (S. 30-31.) †† *Ibid.* § 11. (S. 32-33.)

‘Unfairness and uncompassionateness are not to be imputed to him, because some (the gods) are happy, others (beasts and inferior beings) are miserable, and others again (men) partake of happiness and unhappiness. Every one has his lot, in the renovated world, according to his merits, his previous virtue or vice in a former stage of an universe, which is sempiternal and had no beginning in time. So the rain-cloud distributes rain impartially; yet the sprout varies according to the seed.’*

‘Every attribute of a first cause (omniscience, omnipotence, &c.) exists in BRAHME, who is devoid of qualities.’†

The second chapter of the second lecture is controversial. The doctrine of the *Sānc’hyas* is confuted in the first section; that of the *Vais’éshicas* in two more; of the *Bauddhas* in as many; of the *Jainas* in one; of the *Pds’u-patas* and *Pāncharātras*, likewise, in one each. These controversial disquisitions are here omitted; as a brief abstract would hardly be intelligible, and a full explanation would lead to too great length. They have been partly noticed in a separate treatise on the Philosophy of Indian Sects (vol. 1. p. 549). It is remarkable, that the *Nyāya* of GÓTAMA is entirely unnoticed in the text and commentaries of the *Védānta-sūtras*.

In the third chapter of the second lecture, the task of reconciling seeming contradictions of passages in the *védas* is resumed.

‘The origin of air and the ethereal element (*ácás’a*), unnoticed in the text of the *véda* (*Ch’hándógya*), where the creation of the three other elements is described, has been affirmed in another (*Taittiríyaca*).‡ The omission of the one is supplied by the notice in the other; there is no contradiction, as the deficient passage is not restrictive, nor professes a complete enumeration. Ether and air are by BRAHME created. But he himself has no origin, no procreator nor maker, for he is eternal, without beginning as without end.§ So fire, and water, and earth, proceed mediately from him, being evolved successively, the one from the other, as fire from air, and this from ether.|| The element of earth is meant in divers passages where food (that is, esculent vegetable) is said to proceed from water: for rain fertilizes the earth. It is by his will, not by their own act, that they are so evolved; and conversely, they merge one into the other, in the reversed order, and are re-

* *Br. Sūtr.* 2. 1. § 12. (S. 34-36.)

† *Ibid.* 2. 3. § 1 and 2. (S. 1-7 and 8.)

‡ *Ibid.* § 4-6. (S. 10-12.)

§ *Ibid.* § 13. (S. 37.)

|| *Ibid.* § 3. (S. 9.)

absorbed at the general dissolution of worlds, previous to renovation of all things.*

‘Intellect, mind, and organs of sense and action, being composed of the primary elements, are evolved and re-absorbed in no different order or succession, but in that of the elements of which they consist.’†

‘The same course, evolution and re-absorption, or material birth and death, cannot be affirmed of the soul. Birth and death are predicated of an individual, referring merely to his association with body, which is matter fixed or moveable. Individual souls are, in the *vēda*, compared to sparks issuing from a blazing fire; but the soul is likewise declared expressly to be eternal and unborn. Its emanation is no birth, nor original production.‡ It is perpetually intelligent and constantly sensible, as the *Sānc’hya*s too maintain; not adventitiously so, merely by association with mind and intellect, as the disciples of CANĀDE insist. It is for want of sensible objects, not for want of sensibility or faculty of perception, that the soul feels not during profound sleep, fainting, or trance.

‘The soul is not of finite dimensions, as its transmigrations seemingly indicate; nor minutely small abiding within the heart, and no bigger than the hundredth part of a hundredth of a hair’s point, as in some passages described; but, on the contrary, being identified with supreme BRAHME, it participates in his infinity.’§

‘The soul is active; not, as the *Sānc’hya*s maintain, merely passive.|| Its activity, however, is not essential, but adventitious. As the carpenter, having his tools in hand, toils and suffers, and laying them aside, rests and is easy, so the soul in conjunction with its instruments (the senses and organs) is active, and quitting them, reposes.¶

‘Blind in the darkness of ignorance, the soul is guided in its actions and fruition, in its attainment of knowledge and consequent liberation and bliss, by the supreme ruler of the universe,** who causes it to act conformably with its previous resolves: now, according to its former purposes, as then consonantly to its yet earlier predispositions, accruing from preceding forms with no retrospective limit; for the world had no beginning. The supreme soul makes the individuals act relatively to their virtuous or vicious

* *Br. Sūtr.* 2. 3. § 7-8. (S. 13-14.)

† *Ibid.* § 9. (S. 15.)

‡ *Ibid.* § 10-11. (S. 16-17.)

§ *Ibid.* § 13. (S. 19-32.)

|| *Ibid.* § 14. (S. 33-39.)

¶ *Ibid.* § 15. (S. 40.)

** *Ibid.* § 16. (S. 41-42.)

propensities, as the same fertilizing rain-cloud causes various seeds to sprout multifariously, producing diversity of plants according to their kind.

‘The soul is a portion of the supreme ruler,* as a spark is of fire. The relation is not as that of master and servant, ruler and ruled, but as that of whole and part. In more than one hymn and prayer of the *véda*† it is said, “all beings constitute one quarter of him; three quarters are imperishable in heaven:” and in the *Iśwara-gíta*‡ and other *smṛitis*, the soul, that animates body, is expressly affirmed to be a portion of him. He does not, however, partake of the pain and suffering of which the individual soul is conscious, through sympathy, during its association with body; so solar or lunar light appears as that which it illumines, though distinct therefrom.

‘As the sun’s image reflected in water is tremulous, quaking with the undulations of the pool, without however affecting other watery images nor the solar orb itself; so the sufferings of one individual affect not another, nor the supreme ruler. But, according to the doctrine of the *Sāṅc’hya*s, who maintain that souls are numerous, each of them infinite, and all affected by one plastic principle, nature (*pradhāna* or *pracrīti*), the pain or pleasure, which is experienced by one, must be felt by all. The like consequence is objected to the doctrine of CAṆĀDE, who taught that souls, numerous and infinite, are of themselves insensible; and mind, the soul’s instrument, is minute as an atom, and by itself likewise unsentient. The union of one soul with a mind would not exclude its association with other souls, equally infinite and ubiquitary; and all, therefore, would partake of the same feeling of pain or pleasure.’

The fourth chapter of the second book proceeds in the task of reconciling apparent contradictions of passages in the *védas*.§

‘The corporeal organs of sense and of action, designated by the term *prāṇa* in a secondary acceptation (it is noticed in its proper signification further on, § 4), have, like the elements and other objects treated of in the foregoing chapter, a similar origin, as modifications of BRAHME; although unnoticed in some passages concerning the creation, and mentioned in others as pre-existent, but expressly affirmed in others to be successively evolved.§ The deficiency or omission of one text does not invalidate the explicit tenour of another.

* *Br. Sūtr.* § 17. (S. 43-53.) † *Rīgvéda*, 8. 4. 17. *Yajurveda* (*Vājasaneyi*) 31. 3.

‡ *Sāncara* cites by this name the *Bhagavad Gíta*. § *Br. Sūtr.* 2. 4. § 1. (S. 1-4.)

‘In various passages, the number of corporeal organs is differently stated, from seven to thirteen. The precise number is, however, eleven :* the five senses, sight, &c. ; five active organs, the hand, &c. ; and lastly, the internal faculty, mind, comprehending intelligence, consciousness, and sensation. Where a greater number is specified, the term is employed in its most comprehensive sense ; where fewer are mentioned, it is used in a more restricted acceptation : thus seven sensitive organs are spoken of, relatively to the eyes, ears, and nostrils (in pairs), and the tongue.’

‘They are finite and small : not, however, minute as atoms, nor yet gross, as the coarser elements.†

‘In its primary or principal signification, *prāṇa* is vital action, and chiefly respiration. This, too, is a modification of BRAHME. It is not wind (*vāyu*) or the air which is breathed, though so described in numerous passages of the *védas* and other authorities ; nor is it an operation of a corporeal organ ; but it is a particular vital act, and comprehends five such : 1st respiration, or an act operating upwards ; 2d inspiration, one operating downwards ; 3d a vigorous action, which is a mean between the foregoing two ; 4th expiration, or passage upwards, as in metempsychosis ; 5th digestion, or circulation of nutriment throughout the corporeal frame.‡

‘Here, too, it must be understood of a limited, not vast or infinite act, nor minutely small. The vital act is not so minute as not to pervade the entire frame, as in the instance of circulation of nourishment ; yet is small enough to be imperceptible to a bystander, in the instance of life’s passage in transmigration.

‘Respiration and the rest of the vital acts do not take effect of themselves by an intrinsic faculty, but as influenced and directed by a presiding deity and ruling power, yet relatively to a particular body, to whose animating spirit, and not to the presiding deity, fruition accrues.§

‘The senses and organs, eleven in number as above mentioned, are not modifications of the principal vital act, respiration, but distinct principles.||

‘It is the supreme ruler, not the individual soul, who is described in passages of the *védas* as transforming himself into divers combinations, assuming various names and shapes, deemed terrene, aqueous, or igneous,

* *Br. Sūtr.* 2. 4. § 2. (S. 5-6.) † *Ibid.* § 3. (S. 7.) ‡ *Ibid.* § 4. (S. 8.) § 5. (S. 9-12.) § 6. (S. 13.)
§ *Ibid.* § 7. (S. 14-16.) || *Ibid.* § 8. (S. 17-19.)

according to the predominancy of the one or the other element. When nourishment is received into the corporeal frame, it undergoes a threefold distribution, according to its fineness or coarseness: corn and other terrene food becomes flesh; but the coarser portion is ejected, and the finer nourishes the mental organ. Water is converted into blood; the coarser particles are rejected as urine; the finer supports the breath. Oil or other combustible substance, deemed igneous, becomes marrow; the coarser part is deposited as bone, and the finer supplies the faculty of speech.*

The third lecture treats on the means whereby knowledge is attainable, through which liberation and perpetual bliss may be achieved: and, as preliminary thereto, on the passage of the soul furnished with organs into the versatile world and its various conditions; and on the nature and attributes of the supreme being.

‘The soul is subject to transmigration. It passes from one state to another, invested with a subtile frame consisting of elementary particles, the seed or rudiment of a grosser body. Departing from that which it occupied, it ascends to the moon; where, clothed with an aqueous form, it experiences the recompense of its works; and whence it returns to occupy a new body with resulting influence of its former deeds. But evil-doers suffer for their misdeeds in the seven appointed regions of retribution.†

‘The returning soul quits its watery frame in the lunar orb, and passes successively and rapidly through ether, air, vapour, mist, and cloud, into rain; and thus finds its way into a vegetating plant, and thence, through the medium of nourishment, into an animal embryo.‡

In the second chapter of this lecture the states or conditions of the embodied soul are treated of. They are chiefly three; waking, dreaming, and profound sleep: to which may be added for a fourth, that of death; and for a fifth, that of trance, swoon, or stupor, which is intermediate between profound sleep and death (as it were half-dead), as dreaming is between waking and profound sleep. In that middle state of dreaming there is a fanciful course of events, an illusory creation, which however testifies the existence of a conscious soul. In profound sleep the soul has retired to the supreme one by the route of the arteries of the pericardium.§

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the consideration of the

* *Br. Sûtr.* 2. 4. § 9. (S. 20-22.)

† *Ibid.* 3. 1. § 1-3. (S. 1-7 and 8-11 and 12-21.)

‡ *Ibid.* 3. 1. § 4-6. (S. 22-23 and 24-27.)

§ *Ibid.* 3. 2. § 1-4. (S. 1-6, 7, 8, 9 and 10.)

nature and attributes of the supreme being. 'He is described in many passages of the *vêda*, as diversified and endued with every quality and particular character; but in other and very numerous texts, as without form or quality. The latter only is truly applicable, not the former, nor yet both. He is impassible, unaffected by worldly modifications; as the clear crystal, seemingly coloured by the red blossom of a hibiscus, is not the less really pellucid. He does not vary with every disguising form or designation, for all diversity is expressly denied by explicit texts; and the notion of variableness relative to him is distinctly condemned in some *s'ac'hás* of the *vêda*.*

'He is neither coarse nor subtile, neither long nor short, neither audible nor tangible; amorphous, invariable.'

'This luminous immortal being, who is in this earth, is the same with the luminous, immortal, embodied spirit, which informs the corporeal self, and is the same with the [supreme] soul.' 'He is to be apprehended by mind alone, there is not here any multiplicity. Whosoever views him as manifold dies death after death.†

'He is amorphous, for so he is explicitly declared to be; but seemingly assuming form, as sunshine or moonlight, impinging on an object, appears straight or crooked.‡

'He is pronounced to be sheer sense, mere intellect and thought: as a lump of salt is wholly of an uniform taste within and without, so is the soul an entire mass of intelligence.' This is affirmed both in the *vêdas* and in the *smṛitis*: and, as such, he is compared to the reflected images of sun and moon, which fluctuate with the rise and fall of the waters that reflect them.§ 'The luminous sun, though single, yet reflected in water, becomes various; and so does the unborn divine soul by disguise in divers modes.'

The *vêda* so describes him, as entering into and pervading the corporeal shapes by himself wrought.|| 'He framed bodies, biped and quadruped; and becoming a bird, he passed into those bodies, filling them as their informing spirit.'

In the *Vṛihad aran'yaca*, after premising two modes of BRAHME, morpous and amorphous; one composed of the three coarser elements, earth, water,

* *Br. Sûtr.* 3. 2. § 5. (S. 11-13.)

† Passages of the *vêda* cited among others by the scholiasts commenting on the above.

‡ *Br. Sûtr.* 3. 2. (S. 14.)

§ *Ibid.* S. 15-20.

|| *Ibid.* S. 21.

and fire ; the other consisting of the two more subtile, air and ether ; it is said, ‘ next then his name is propounded,’ “ neither so nor so ; for there is none other but he, and he is the supreme.” Here the finite forms premised are denied ; for his existence as the supreme being is repeatedly affirmed in this and in other passages.*

‘ He is imperceptible ; yet during devout meditation is, as it were, apprehended by perception and inference, through revelation and authentic recollections.†

‘ Like the sun and other luminaries, seemingly multiplied by reflection though really single, and like ether (space) apparently subdivided in vessels containing it within limits, the (supreme) light is without difference or distinction of particulars, for he is repeatedly declared so to be.‡ Therefore is one, who knows the truth, identified with the infinite being ; for so revelation indicates. But since both are affirmed, the relation is as that of the coiled serpent fancied to be a hoop ; or as that of light and the luminary from which it proceeds, for both are luminous.§

‘ There is none other but he, notwithstanding the apparent import of divers texts, which seem to imply differences, various relations, and aliquot parts. He is ubiquitary and eternal ; for he is pronounced to be greater than ethereal space, which is infinite.||

‘ The fruit or recompense of works is from him, for that is congruous ; and so it is expressly affirmed in the *védas*. JAIMINI alleges virtue or moral merit ; but the author of the *sûtras* (BADARÁYANA VYÁSA) maintains the former, because the supreme being is in the *védas* termed the cause of virtue and of vice, as of every thing else.’¶

The two last chapters of the third lecture relate chiefly to devout exercises and pious meditation, the practice of which is inculcated as proper and requisite to prepare the soul and mind for the reception of divine knowledge, and to promote its attainment. I pass rapidly over this copious part** of the text, for the same reason for which I restricted myself to a very brief notice of the *Yôga* or theistical *Sânc’hya* of *Patanjali* ; because religious observances are more concerned than philosophy with the

* *Br. Sûtr.* 3. 2. § 6. (S. 22.)

† *Ibid.* S. 23-24.

‡ *Ibid.* S. 25.

§ *Ibid.* S. 26-30.

|| *Ibid.* § 7.

¶ *Ibid.* § 8.

** The third chapter contains thirty-six sections, comprising sixty-six aphorisms ; the fourth includes eighteen, comprehending fifty-two *sûtras* ; and the subject is pursued in the eight first sections of the fourth lecture.

topics there treated, and the ritual of the *Yôga* according to both systems, *Sānc'hya* and *Védānta*, would be a fitter subject of a separate treatise, rather than to be incidentally touched on while investigating the philosophical doctrines of both schools.

Various questions arise on the modes, forms, and object of meditation taught in the *Upanishads* and in other portions of the *Védas*, as well as on exterior observances either immediately or mediately connected therewith, and likewise on the direct efficacy of knowledge, which are all considered and solved at much length. In general, but not always, the same divine knowledge, the same worship, and like meditations, are intended by the same designations in different *védas*, the omissions and obscurities of one being supplied and explained by another, and even under various designations. By the acquisition of such knowledge, attainable as it is in the present or in a future birth, in lifetime, or to take effect after death, the influence of works is annulled, and consequent deliverance is single, not varying in degree and inducing different gradations of bliss, but complete and final happiness.

The fourth lecture relates chiefly to the fruit and effect of pious meditation properly conducted, and the consequent attainment of divine knowledge. The beginning of the first chapter is, however, supplemental to the foregoing lecture, treating of devout exercises, and the posture (a sitting one) in which devotion and contemplation should be practised, with constant repetition of those observances, and persisting therein during life.*

So soon as that knowledge is attained, past sin is annulled and future offence precluded.† “As water wets not the leaf of the lotus, so sin touches not him who knows God: as the floss on the carding comb cast into the fire is consumed, so are his sins burnt away.”‡

‘In like manner, the effect of the converse (that is, of merit and virtue) is by acquisition of knowledge annulled and precluded. It is at death that these consequences take place.§ “He traverses both (merit and demerit) thereby.”|| “The heart’s knot is broken, all doubts are split, and his works perish, when he has seen the supreme being.”¶ “All sins

* *Br. Sûtr.* 4. 1. § 1-8 (S. 1-12.)

§ *Br. S.* 4. 1. § 10. (S. 14.)

† *Ibid.* § 9. (S. 13.)

|| *Vrîhad Aran'yaca.*

‡ *Ch'hândôgya, Brahme vidyâ.*

¶ *Mun'd'aca.*

depart from him:"* meaning good works as well as misdeeds; for the confinement of fetters is the same, whether the chain be of gold or iron.†

‘ But only such antecedent sin and virtue are annulled, as had not begun to have effect: for their influence lasts until his deliverance, and then does he merge in the supreme BRAHME.‡ Those which were in operation are not annulled, as the arrow, which has been shot, completes its flight, nor falls till its speed is spent; and the potter’s wheel, once set in motion, whirls till the velocity which has been communicated to it is exhausted.’

‘ However, the maintenance of a perpetual fire, and certain other religious observances enjoined as conducive to the same end, are not rendered inefficacious;§ for it is declared that “*Bráhmaṇas* seek divine knowledge by holy study, sacrifice, liberality, and devotion:”|| and according to some *sác’has*¶ of the *véda*, other merits remain likewise effectual; for sons succeed to the inheritance of their father’s works; the affectionate share his good deeds; and the malignant participate of his ill actions.” These sacrificial observances may be such as are conjoined with devout exercises, faith, and pious meditation; or unattended by those holy practices for attainment of divine knowledge, since they are pronounced most efficacious when so conjoined, which implies that they are not wholly inoperative by themselves.’**

‘ Having annulled by fruition other works which had begun to have effect, having enjoyed the recompense and suffered the pains of good and bad actions, the possessor of divine knowledge, on demise of the body, proceeds to a reunion with BRAHME.††

The fruit of divine knowledge having been shown in the first chapter, the second chapter of this lecture treats of the particular effect of devout exercises joined with appropriate meditation. It chiefly concerns the ascent of the soul, or mode in which it passes from the body.

‘ Of a dying person the speech, followed by the rest of the ten exterior faculties (not the corporal organs themselves), is absorbed into the mind, for the action of the outer organ ceases before the mind’s. This, in like

* *Ch’hándógya*.

† Anon. com.

‡ *Br. Sûtr.* 4. 1. § 11. (S. 15.) *Ch’hándógya*.

§ *Ibid.* § 12. (S. 16-17.)

|| *Vrîhad Aran’yaca*.

¶ *Satyáyana*.

** *Br. Sûtr.* 4. 1. § 13. (S. 18.) *Ch’hándógya*.

†† *Ibid.* § 14. (S. 19.) *Ch’hándógya* and *Vrîhad Aran’yaca*.

manner, retires into the breath,* attended likewise by all the other vital functions, for they are life's companions; and the same retreat of the mind is observable, also, in profound sleep and in a swoon. Breath, attended likewise by all other vital faculties, is withdrawn into the living soul which governs the corporeal organs, as the attendants of a king assemble around him when he is setting out upon a journey; for all vital functions gather about the soul at the last moment when it is expiring.† The living soul, attended with all its faculties, retires within a rudiment of body, composed of light with the rest of the five elements, in a subtile state. "Breath" is, therefore, said to withdraw into "light;" not meaning that element (or fire) exclusively; nor intending direct transition, for a traveller has gone from one city to another, though he passed through an intermediate town.‡

‘ This retirement from the body is common to ordinary uninformed people as to the devout contemplative worshipper, until they proceed further on their respective paths; and immortality (without immediate reunion with the supreme BRAHME) is the fruit of pious meditation, though impediments may not be wholly consumed and removed.‡

‘ In that condition the soul of the contemplative worshipper remains united to a subtile elementary frame, conjoined with the vital faculties, until the dissolution of worlds, when it merges in the supreme deity. That elementary frame is minute in its dimensions as subtile in its texture, and is accordingly imperceptible to bystanders when departing from the body: nor is it oppressed by cremation or other treatment which that body undergoes. It is by its warmth sensible so long as it abides with that coarser frame, which becomes cold in death when it has departed,§ and was warm during life while it remained. | 99 | 8.

‘ But he who has attained the true knowledge of God does not pass through the same stages of retreat, proceeding directly to reunion with the supreme being, with which he is identified, as a river, at its confluence with the sea, merges therein altogether. His vital faculties and the elements of which his body consists, all the sixteen component parts which constitute the human frame, are absorbed absolutely and completely: both name and form cease; and he becomes immortal, without parts or members.’||

* *Ch'hándógya. Br. Sûtr. 4. 2. § 1-3.*

† *Vrihad Aran'yaca.*

‡ *Br. Sûtr. 4. 2. § 4. (S. 7.)*

§ *Ibid. § 5. (S. 8-11.) Cat'havalli, &c.*

|| *Ibid. § 6-8. (S. 12-16.) Cûn'wa, Mádhyandina, Pras'n'a, &c.*

In course of expounding the text, some of the commentators compare the ultimate absorption of the vital faculties to the disappearance of water sprinkled on a hot stone.* They seem to be unaware of its evaporation, and consider it to have sunk into the stone.

‘The soul, together with the vital faculties absorbed in it, having retired within its proper abode, the heart, the summit of that viscus flashes, and lightens the passage by which the soul is to depart: the crown of the head in the case of the wise; and any other part of the body, in the instance of the ignorant. A hundred and one arteries issue from the heart, one of which passes to the crown of the head: it is named *sushumna*. By that passage, in virtue of acquired knowledge, and of recollection of the meditated way, the soul of the wise, graced by the favour of BRAHME, whose dwelling is in the heart, issues and meets a solar ray; and by that route proceeds, whether it be night or day, winter or summer.† The contact of a sunbeam with the vein is constant, as long as the body endures: rays of light reach from the sun to the vein, and conversely extend from this to the sun. The preferableness of summer, as exemplified in the case of BHISHMA, who awaited the return of that auspicious season to die, does not concern the devout worshipper, who has practised religious exercises in contemplation of BRAHME, as inculcated by the *védas*, and has consequently acquired knowledge. But it does concern those who have followed the observances taught by the *Sānc’hya Yōga*; according to which, the time of day and season of the year are not indifferent.

The further progress of the soul, from the termination of the coronal artery communicating with a solar ray to its final destination, the abode of BRAHME, is variously described in divers texts of the *véda*; some specifying intermediate stations which are omitted by others, or mentioned in a different order.‡ The seeming discrepancies of those passages are reconciled, and all are shown to relate to one uniform route, deduced from the text, for the divine journey (*déva-yāna*) which the liberated soul travels. A question arises, whether the intermediate stations, which are mentioned, be stages of the journey, or scenes of fruition to be visited in succession, or

* *Ranganátha* on *Br. Sútr.* 4. 2. 6. (S. 12.)

† *Br. Sútr.* 4. 2. § 9-11. (S. 17-21.) *Vṛi. Aran’. Ch’hándógya*, &c.

‡ *Ch’hándógya*, *Caushítaci*, *Vṛihad Aran’yaca*, &c.

landmarks designated for the course and direction of the route.* On this point the settled conclusion is,† that the presiding deities or regents of the places or regions indicated are guides to the soul, who forward it on its way in its helpless condition, destitute of exerted organs, all its faculties being absorbed and withdrawn; as a blind man is led, or a faint person is conducted, by a guide.

The route deduced from the tenour of texts compared, and from divers considerations set forth,‡ is by a solar ray to the realm of fire; thence to the regents of day, of the semilunation, of the summer six months, of the year; and thence to the abode of gods; to air or wind, the regent of which forwards the journeying soul from his precincts, by a narrow passage compared to the nave of a chariot wheel, towards the sun: thence the transition is to the moon, whence to the region of lightning, above which is the realm of VARUNA, the regent of water; for lightning and thunder are beneath the rain-cloud and aqueous region: the rest of the way is by the realm of INDRA, to the abode of PRAJÁPATI or BRAHME.

A question arises, which is here discussed, whether BRAHME, to whose dwelling and court the soul is conducted, be the supreme being, according to the ordinary and chief acceptation of the term, or be that effect of his creative will which is distinguished as *cārya brahme*, identified with the mythological personage entitled HIRAN'YAGARBHA, as having been included within the golden mundane egg. JAIMINI affirms the supreme one to be meant: but BĀDARI maintains the other opinion; which is that which the commentators of the *sūtras* understand the author of them to adopt.‡

The souls of those holy persons only, whose devout meditation was addressed to the pure BRAHME himself, take the route described;§ not those whose contemplation was partial and restrictive: they have their special reward. Those, too, whose knowledge of God was more perfect, pass immediately, or by any route, to a reunion with the divinity, with whom they are identified.

The soul of him who has arrived at the perfection of divine knowledge, and is consequently liberated, “quitting its corporeal frame, ascends to the

* BHAVADEVVA instances *Pātalipura* and the *Són'a* river, as indicated for the direction of the route from *Tirabhucti* (Tirhút) to *Vārānasi* (Benares). It is clear that he understands *Pātalipura* (the ancient Palibothra) to be Patna.

† *Br. Sūtr.* 4. 3. § 1-4. (S. 1-6.) ‡ *Ibid.* § 5. (S. 7-14.) § *Ibid.* § 6. (S. 15-16.)

supreme light which is BRAHME, and comes forth identified with him, conform and undivided ;”* as pure water, dropped into the limpid lake, is such as that is.

Concerning the condition of the liberated man, a difference of doctrine is noticed.† JAİMİNĪ maintained, that he is endued with divine attributes, omniscience, ubiquitary power, and other transcendent faculties. AUDULÓMI insisted, that he becomes sheer thought, sentient intelligence. The author of the *sūtras* (BĀDARĀYAN’A) accedes to the last-mentioned opinion ; admitting, however, the practical or apparent possession of divine faculties by one who has attained perfection of knowledge.

‘By certain devout exercises and meditation‡ a less perfect knowledge is acquired, which, as before mentioned, qualifies the possessor of it for reception at BRAHME’S abode, though not for immediate reunion and identity with his being. In that condition transcendent power is enjoyed. The *pitṛis*, or shades of progenitors, may be called up by a simple act of the will ; and other superhuman faculties may be similarly exerted. The possessor of these is independent, subject to no other’s control. He may, at his option, be invested with one or more bodies, furnished with senses and organs, or be unincumbered with a corporeal frame. On this point, however, a difference of doctrine subsists. JAİMİNĪ maintained the indispensable presence of body ; BĀDARI, its absence ; and the author (BĀDARĀYAṆA) admits the option. In one case, the condition is that of a person dreaming ; in the other case, as of one awake.§

‘Master of several bodies, by a simple act of his will, the *Yōgī* does not occupy one only, leaving the rest inanimate, like so many wooden machines. He may animate more than one, in like manner as a single lamp may be made to supply more than one wick.||

Liberation (*mucti*), besides its proper and strict sense, which is that of final deliverance through a perfect knowledge of BRAHME, and consequent identification with the divinity and absorption into his essence, is likewise employed in a secondary acceptation for that which takes effect in life-time (*jīvan-mucti*) ; or which conducts the soul after death to dwell with BRAHME ; not, however, divested of a subtile corporeal frame. The more complete

* *Br. Sūtr.* 4. 4. § 1-2. (S. 1-4.)

† *Ibid.* § 3. (S. 5-7.)

‡ *Hārda vidyā* or *Dahara-vidyā* in the *Ch’hândōgya*.

§ *Br. Sūtr.* 4. 4. § 4. 5. (S. 9-14.)

|| *Ibid.* § 6. (S. 15-16.)

deliverance is incorporeal (*vidéha mukti*).* The less perfect liberation appertains to a *Yógí*, similar, in respect of the faculties and powers possessed by him, to one who has accomplished the like by the observances taught in the *Sanc'hya* or *Yóga* of PĀTANJALI.

Such a *Yógí*, uncontrolled and independent as he has been pronounced to be, can exert every faculty and superior power analogous to that of the divinity's, which may be conducive to enjoyment; but he has not a creative power. His faculties are transcendent for enjoyment, not for action.†

The more perfect liberation is absolute and final: there is no return of the soul from its absorption in the divine essence, to undergo further transmigrations as before.‡ But incomplete knowledge, which conducts to BRAHME's abode without qualifying the soul for such absorption into the divinity, exempts it from return during the subsisting *calpa*; but not at a future renovation of worlds,§ unless by special favour of the deity.

Recapitulation.

In the foregoing summary of the *Védānta* from the *sūtras* of VYĀSA, the interpretation by ŚĀNCARA has been relied upon; and his gloss, with notes of his annotators and the commentaries of scholiasts who follow him, have been exclusively employed, lest the doctrine of separate schools and different branches of the *Védānta* should be blended and confounded. Those commentaries are numerous, and explanations and elucidations of the text have been taken from one or from another indiscriminately, as they have been found pertinent and illustrative, without particular preference or selection. This should be borne in mind in comparing that summary with its authorities, as it has not been judged necessary, nor generally practicable, to cite the particular commentary that is especially used in each instance.

Some remarks will be now added, in which other authorities are likewise employed, and chiefly the elementary works|| mentioned in the introduction of this essay.

The principal and essential tenets of the *Védānta* are, that God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of his will. He is both

* *Bhavadéva* on *Br. Sūtr.* 4. 4. S. 22.

† *Br. Sūtr.* 4. 4 § 7. (S. 17-22.)

‡ *Ibid.* S. 22.

§ On this point the commentators do not appear to agree.

|| *Védānta-sāra*, *Védānta-paribhāṣā*, &c.

efficient and material cause of the world : creator and nature, framer and frame, doer and deed. At the consummation of all things, all are resolved into him : as the spider spins his thread from his own substance and gathers it in again ; as vegetables sprout from the soil and return to it, earth to earth ; as hair and nails grow from a living body and continue with it. The supreme being is one, sole-existent, secondless, entire, without parts, sempiternal, infinite, ineffable, invariable ruler of all, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence, happiness.

Individual souls, emanating from the supreme one, are likened to innumerable sparks issuing from a blazing fire. From him they proceed, and to him they return, being of the same essence. The soul, which governs the body, together with its organs, neither is born ; nor does it die. It is a portion of the divine substance ; and, as such, infinite, immortal, intelligent, sentient, true.

It is governed by the supreme. Its activity is not of its essence, but inductive through its organs : as an artisan, taking his tools, labours and undergoes toil and pain, but laying them aside reposes ; so is the soul active, and a sufferer by means of its organs ; but, divested of them, and returning to the supreme one, is at rest and is happy. It is not a free and independent agent, but made to act by the supreme one, who causes it to do in one state as it had purposed in a former condition. According to its predisposition for good or evil, for enjoined or forbidden deeds, it is made to do good or ill, and thus it has retribution for previous works. Yet God is not author of evil ; for so it has been from eternity : the series of preceding forms and of dispositions manifested in them has been infinite.

The soul is incased in body as in a sheath, or rather in a succession of sheaths. The first or inner case is the intellectual one (*vijnánamaya*) : it is composed of the sheer (*tan-matra*), or simple elements uncombined, and consists of the intellect (*buddhi*) joined with the five senses.

The next is the mental (*manomaya*) sheath, in which mind is joined with the preceding. A third sheath or case comprises the organs of action and the vital faculties, and is termed the organic or vital case. These three sheaths (*cós'a*) constitute the subtile frame (*súcshma-s'aríra* or *linga-s'aríra*) which attends the soul in its transmigrations. The interior rudiment confined to the inner case is the causal frame (*cáran'a-s'aríra*).

The gross body (*s'phúla-s'aríra*) which it animates from birth to death in any step of its transmigrations, is composed of the coarse elements, formed

by combinations of the simple elements, in proportions of four-eighths of the predominant and characteristic one with an eighth of each of the other four: that is, the particles of the several elements, being divisible, are, in the first place, split into moieties; whereof one is subdivided into quarters; and the remaining moiety combines with one part (a quarter of a moiety) from each of the four others, thus constituting coarse or mixed elements.* The exterior case, composed of elements so combined, is the nutrimentitious (*annamaya*) sheath; and being the scene of coarse fruition, is therefore termed the gross body.

The organic frame assimilates the combined elements received in food, and secretes the finer particles and rejects the coarsest: earth becomes flesh; water, blood; and inflammable substances (oil or grease), marrow. The coarser particles of the two first are excreted as feces and urine; those of the third are deposited in the bones. The finer particles of the one nourish the mind; of the other, supply respiration; of the third, support speech.

Organized bodies are arranged by the *védntins* in either four or three classes: for both which arrangements the authority of passages of the *véda* is cited. Their four classes are the same with those of other writers; but the threefold division appears to be peculiar to this school. It is, 1st. viviparous (*jvaja*), as man and quadrupeds; 2d. oviparous (*an'd'aja*), as birds and insects; 3d. germiniparous (*udbhijja*).† The latter, however, comprehends the two terminating classes of the fourfold distribution, vermin and vegetable; differing but as one sprouts from the earth, the other pullulates from water: the one fixed, the other locomotive. To both, equivocal and spontaneous generation, or propagation without union of parents, is assigned.

The order in which the five elements are enumerated is that of their development: 1st. the ethereal element (*ácás'a*), which is deemed a most subtle fluid, occupying all space and confounded with vacancy: sound is its particular quality. 2d. Wind (*váyu*), or air in motion: for mobility is its characteristic; sound and feel are sensible in it. 3d. Fire or light (*téjas*), of which heat is the characteristic; and by which sound, feel, and colour (or form) are made manifest. 4th. Water (*ap*), of which fluidity is characteristic; and in which sound, feel, colour, and taste occur. 5th. Earth (*prithiví* or *anna*), of which hardness is characteristic; and in which sound, feel, colour, taste, and smell are discernible.

* *Véd. Sdra.* 136.

† *Sanc.*, &c. on *Br. Sútr.* 3. 1. § 3. (S. 21.)

The notion of ether and wind as distinct elements, an opinion which this has in common with most of the other schools of Indian philosophy, seems to originate in the assumption of mobility for the essential character of the one. Hence air in motion has been distinguished from the aerial fluid at rest, which is *ácás'a*, supposed to penetrate and pervade all worldly space ; and, by an easy transition, *váyu* (wind) and motion, come to be identified, as *ácás'a* (ether) and space likewise are confounded.

An organized body, in its most subtile state of tenuity, comprises sixteen members (*avyaya*) or corporeal parts, *viz.* five organs of sense, as many instruments of action, and the same number of vital faculties ; to which are added mind (including intelligence, consciousness, and sensation) ; or, distinguishing mind and intellect (*buddhi*) as separate parts, the number is seventeen.

The vital faculties, termed *váyu*, are not properly air or wind, but vital functions or actions. Considered, however, with a reference to the proper meaning of that term, they are by some explained to be, 1st respiration, which is ascending, and of which the seat is the nostril ; 2d, inspiration (or otherwise explained, flatus), which is descending, and which issues from the lower extremity of the intestine ; 3d, flatuousness, which is diffused through the body, passing by all the veins and arteries ; 4th, expiration, ascending from the throat ; 5th, digestion, or abdominal air, of which the seat is the middle of the body.

According to a different explanation, the first is respiration ; the second, inspiration ; the third, a mean between the two, pulsation, palpitation, and other vital movements ; the fourth is expiration ; and the fifth is digestion.

Three states of the soul in respect of the body are recognized ; to which must be added a fourth, and even a fifth, *viz.* waking, dreaming, profoundly sleeping, half-dead, and dead. While awake, the soul, associated with body, is active under the guidance of providence, and has to do with a real (*páramárt'hicí*) and practical (*vyavaháricí*) creation. In a dream there is an illusory (*máydmayí*) and unreal creation : nevertheless, dreams prognosticate events. Dreaming is the mean (*sandhya*) between sleeping and waking. In profound sleep the soul is absent, having retired by the channel of the arteries, and being as it were enfolded in the supreme deity. It is not, however, blended with the divine essence, as a drop of water fallen into a lake, where it becomes undistinguishable ; but, on the contrary, the soul continues discriminate, and returns unchanged to the body which it ani-

mates while awake. Swoon, or stupor, is intermediate between sleep and death. During insensibility produced by accident or disease, there is, as in profound sleep and lethargy, a temporary absence of the soul. In death it has absolutely quitted its gross corporeal frame.

Subject to future transmigration, it visits other worlds, to receive there the recompense of works or suffer the penalty of misdeeds. Sinners fall to various regions of punishment, administered by CHITRAGUPTA and other mythological persons in the realm of YAMA. The virtuous rise to the moon, where they enjoy the fruit of their good actions; and whence they return to this world to animate new bodies, and act in them, under providence, conformably with their propensities and predispositions, the trace of which remains.

The wise, liberated from worldly trammels, ascend yet higher, to the abode and court of BRAHME; or, if their attainment of wisdom be complete, they at once pass into a reunion with the divine essence.

Three degrees of liberation or deliverance (*mucti*) are distinguished: one incorporeal, which is that last-mentioned, and is complete; another imperfect, which is that before-mentioned, taking effect upon demise, when the soul passes to the highest heaven, the abode of BRAHME. The third is effectual in life-time (*jivan mucti*), and enables the possessor of it to perform supernatural actions; as evocation of shades of progenitors, translation of himself into other bodies called into existence by the mere force of his will, instantaneous removal to any place at his pleasure, and other wondrous performances.

These several degrees of deliverance are achieved by means of certain sacrifices, as that of a horse (*as'wamedha*), or by religious exercises in various prescribed modes, together with pious meditation on the being and attributes of GOD: but the highest degree of it is attainable only by perfect knowledge of the divine nature, and of the identity of GOD with that which emanated from him, or was created of his substance and partakes of his essence.

Questions most recondite, which are agitated by theologians, have engaged the attention of the *védántins* likewise, and have been by them discussed at much length; such as free-will (*svátantrya*), divine grace (*ís'wara-prasáda*), efficacy of works (*carman*) or of faith (*s'radhá*), and many other abstruse points.

On the last-mentioned topic, that of faith, nothing will be found in the

text of BĀDARĀYAṆA, and little in the gloss of S'ANCARA. Its paramount efficacy is a tenet of another branch of the *Védānta* school, which follows the authority of the *Bhagavad-gítā*. In that work, as in many of the *Purāṇas*, passages relative to this topic recur at every turn.

The *fruit of works* is the grand subject of the first *mīmāṃsā*, which treats of religious duties, sacrifices, and other observances.

The latter *mīmāṃsā* more particularly maintains the doctrine of *divine grace*. It treats of *free-will*, which it in effect denies; but endeavours to reconcile the existence of moral evil under the government of an all-wise, all-powerful, and benevolent providence, with the absence of free-will, by assuming the past eternity of the universe, and the infinite renewals of worlds into which every individual being has brought the predispositions contracted by him in earlier states, and so retrospectively without beginning or limit.

The notion, that the versatile world is an illusion (*māyā*), that all which passes to the apprehension of the waking individual is but a phantasy presented to his imagination, and every seeming thing is unreal and all is visionary, does not appear to be the doctrine of the text of the *Védānta*. I have remarked nothing which countenances it in the *sūtras* of VYĀSA nor in the gloss of S'ANCARA, but much concerning it in the minor commentaries and in elementary treatises. I take it to be no tenet of the original *Védāntin* philosophy, but of another branch, from which later writers have borrowed it, and have intermixed and confounded the two systems. The doctrine of the early *Védānta* is complete and consistent, without this graft of a later growth.

II. *Description of the Ruins of Buddha Gáya.* By DR. FRANCIS
BUCHANAN HAMILTON, M.R.A.S.

(Extracted from his Report of a Survey of South Bihar.)

Read May 5, 1827.

Buddha Gáya was probably, at one time, the centre of religion in India, and the residence of a powerful king. I am informed by the *mahanta* of the *Sannyásis*, who now possesses the great convent at the place, that when his predecessor *Chétan Gíri* came, which may be perhaps one hundred and twenty years ago, it was entirely overrun with bushes and trees; and the sect of *Buddha*, in its vicinity, may be considered as completely extinct. A few persons, indeed, come occasionally from distant countries to visit its ancient monuments. Last year (1811) a man of some rank, with several attendants, came from a country called *Tamsa-dwíp-mahá-amarapura-paigú*, sent by *Mahá-dharma-rájd*, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, a *Cshatriya* of the family of the sun. This is, no doubt, the king of the Burmas; and hence we infer that the old man, since the year 1795, when I visited his capital, has been induced to set up the doctrine afresh. In the year 1795 the priests of *Buddha* were seriously alarmed at the influence which the *Bráhmans* had then acquired.

Some years before, the king of Ava sent two messengers, who, in speaking *Hindustání*, called themselves *Vaxtrs*, by which I know they meant officers of government. They were in search of the holy places rendered remarkable by the actions of GAUTAMA, and took with them the water of many sacred streams and pools, to form a bath for their master.

Both these people had books, by the assistance of which they pretended to trace the holy places and to detail their history.

It would appear that the *Sannyásis* have, in some degree, been infected with the superstition of the place, and confounded by its numerous images, which have struck them with awe. The first *mahanta* resided in the ruin of the temple; and his successors have purposely erected several small buildings, both near the old temple and in their convent, where they have

placed many of the most remarkable and entire images ; and they have put in the walls of the buildings raised for other purposes, a still greater number, of both images and inscriptions. This, the *mahanta* says, was done partly with a view to ornament, and partly with a view to preserve the images from injury ; both of which views might have been unaccompanied by religious awe : but that this last has had some effect, I am persuaded, from several circumstances : 1st, the *mahanta* always spoke of GAUTAMA by the names of MUNI, or BHAGAVÁN, the former signifying holy, and the latter, deity. 2dly, he continued to harbour and support one of his *sannyásis*, who had been converted by the messengers from Ava, and now altogether rejects the doctrines of the orthodox. (This person accompanied me to such of the places in the district as had been pointed out to him as holy by the messengers from Ava, and told me what he recollected of their discourse.) 3dly, the *mahanta* gives an allowance to a family of *Rájputs* which acts as *pújaris* to the temple ; and not only takes care of various small buildings erected by his predecessors among the ruins, and of the sacred tree, but offers flowers and water to *Mahámuni*, and preserves the image from injury. These *Rájputs* are orthodox, and reconcile their duty to their consciences by having given orthodox names to all the images of which they have charge, and by considering *Mahámuni* as an incarnation of VISHNU.

In my account of the religion of the Burmas,* it is mentioned that four great lawgivers, or gods of the sect of Buddha, have appeared on this earth ; and, according to the Italian orthography of the missionary Sangermanno, these persons are named *Chauchaom*, *Gonagom*, *Gaopa*, and *Godama* ; the doctrine of the latter being alone followed in that country. In Ceylon the same is the case ; and the names of the four lawgivers, according to Captain Mahony's orthography,† are *Kakoosandeh*, *Konaganmeh*, *Kaserjeppe*, and *Gautemeh*. These names are, no doubt, the same with those given above, only differently corrupted ; but the appellations assigned to the four lawgivers of the sect by the converted *sannyási* are very different. He calls them *Mahámuni*, *Chándúmuní*, *Sákyamuní*, and *Gautamamuni* ; all of whom were *Buddhas*, that is, very holy persons : but there have been many other such persons ; and he says that, as *Buddha* is merely a title common to many, it is highly improper to speak of such a person as *Buddha* having been born at such or such a time, or having performed certain actions ; and, in fact,

* As. Res. vol. vi. p. 269.

† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 32.

when I was in Ava, I very seldom heard the term *Buddha* used. The same would also seem to be the case in Ceylon : for although Captain Mahony generally calls GAUTAMA by the name of *Boodha*, yet that is probably in compliance with the common custom of the Hindus : and in his account there is a passage (p. 39) which would seem to condemn the practice as improper. In the *Amarakósha* this doctrine mentioned by the convert is also fully implied. GAUTAMA is not mentioned among the synonyms of *Buddha*, which are, *Sarvagna*, *Sugata*, *Buddha*, *Dharmardja*, *Tathágata*, *Samantabhadra*, *Bhagaván*, *Márajit*, *Locajit*, *Jina*, *Shatabhigna*, *Daśabala*, *Advayavudí*, *Vindýaka*, *Muníndra*, *S'rívvana*, *S'ástá*, and *Muní*, but he is called a *Muni*, and might have been in the same manner called a *Buddha*, a *Bhagaván*, or any other of the above-mentioned synonyms ; but, in speaking of him, such appellations should be joined to some of his various names, as *Sákyamuni*, *Gautama-Buddha*, or the like. These names, by which GAUTAMA is known according to the *Amarakósha*, are *S'ákyamuni*, *S'ákyasimha*, *Sarvārthasiddha*, *Sauddhódani*, *Gautama*, *Arkabandhu*, and the son of *Máyá-devi*. It must be observed, that in the commentary (*úké*) annexed, this person is said to have been descended from *Sákya*, who by the convert is called the third lawgiver of the *Buddhas*, and must not be confounded with his descendant, one of whose names is, indeed, very similar.

Among the orthodox *Hindus*, *Buddha* is not considered as synonymous with *Bhagaván*, a deity, or *Muni*, a saint, but is always spoken of as one personage, an incarnation of VISHNU ; and in an inscription found at *Buddha Gáya*, of which a translation has been published in the Asiatic Researches (vol. i. p. 284), this is fully stated. It is, therefore, mentioned by the author of the inscription, that *Buddha*, the incarnation of a part of VISHNU, and the same with *Hari*, appeared at the commencement of the *Kali-yug*, in a wild and dreadful forest, and that *Amara*, one of the nine jewels of the court of VIKRAMÁDITYA, having discovered this place of the supreme being in the forest, caused an image to be made and a holy temple to be constructed ; and therein were set up the divine foot of VISHNU, the images of the *Pándus*, of *Brahmá*, and the rest of the divinities. This place, according to the inscription, is called *Buddha Gáya*, and the forefathers of him who shall perform the *śraddha* at this place shall obtain salvation, as is mentioned in the *Váyu-purán*. And that it may be known by a self-evident testimony that AMARA erected the house of *Buddha*, the author of the inscription has recorded the event on a stone, in the year of the era of *Vikrama*

1005 (A.D. 948). As AMARA and VIKRAMA are usually considered contemporary, and as the circumstance is expressly stated in the inscription, it might be considered as very strange, how an inscription engraved 1005 years after the time of *Amara* could be considered as a testimony of that person having erected the temple; but Mr. Bentley, in his treatise in the eighth volume of the Asiatic Researches (page 242), has shown that *Amara* lived long after the commencement of the era of *Vikrama*, and not far from the time here assigned; it may therefore be alleged, that the inscription was made by AMARA, and that this person built the temple of *Mahdmuni*. That AMARA may have built the present temple is very probable; but that he could have composed this inscription, appears to me impossible. It mentions that, in the temple built by AMARA, that person placed images of five sons of *Pándu*; but the small building containing these is evidently a very recent work, in which some old images of the *Buddhas* have been placed, and now named after these heroes. Besides if AMARA built the great temple, he must have been of the sect of *Buddha*; and the story of a *Buddha-Avatár* is considered by these heretics as altogether void of truth. That AMARA was not orthodox, I am told, is clear, from his having omitted, in the beginning of the *Amarakósha*, to use any sign of a true believer. And that he was of the sect of the *Buddhas*, I am assured, is proved, by the synonyms which, as I have mentioned above, he gives for a *Buddha* and for GAUTAMA; and farther, these synonyms are not compatible with his having been the author of the inscription in question. I have no doubt, therefore, that this inscription is modern, and was composed by some person of the sect of VISHNU, and has been erected to account for the continuance of the worship paid at this place to the *pippali* tree, which, in compliance with ancient superstition, has been ordered in the *Gáya Mahátmya*. I presume that it is on some such authority as this, that certain theorists have imagined the followers of the *Buddhas* to be a branch of the sect of VISHNU. The inscription in question has probably been removed by the person who transmitted a copy to the Asiatic Researches, as I met with none such.

The sect of *Buddha*, as well as the orthodox Hindus, believe that this earth is now in the fourth age of its existence, and that another age will come. Each age has had a lawgiver; and GAUTAMA's authority, according to the Burmas and Ceylonese, is now established. They therefore commence the *Kali-yug*, or fourth age, with his appearance; and the different systems on that subject have occasioned various periods to be assigned for

that event. It was agreed by both of the parties that came from Ava, that GAUTAMA resided at Buddha Gayá, and that, at his desire, a temple was built by DHARMA ASÓKA, king of *Pádaripuk*, who held his court at the place. The visitant who came last, according to the *Mahanta*, placed this event, or the commencement of the *Kali-yug*, about 2,100 years before the year 1811, while the convert gave 5,000 years for the era. This latter date was evidently in conformity with the opinions prevailing now in India, the convert being unwilling to cede in antiquity to the pretensions of the Bráhmans. The computations of Ceylon and Siam place *Gautama* in the sixth century before the birth of Christ, which I take to be his real era; for the *Mahanta* said that he could not speak with precision concerning the date which his visitors from Ava gave, as he had omitted to take it in writing. It is said by the convert, that the temple is not dedicated to GAUTAMA but to *Mahámuni*, or the earliest lawgiver of the present earth: and he said that the messengers from Ava merely venerated the place on account of its having been the residence of GAUTAMA, considering the influence of *Mahámuni* to be extinct.

That a temple may have been built here in the time of GAUTAMA, and that it may have been dedicated to *Mahámuni*, and that perhaps some of its remains may be found among the ruins, is highly probable; but that the present edifice is so ancient, is more than doubtful. I think it, however, probable that, from that time, the temple did not go entirely to ruin until the overthrow of the *Pál Rájás*, and was repaired, or perhaps in a great measure rebuilt, from time to time, as it went to decay, being the chief seat of the religion which seems for many ages to have predominated in this country; on which account it was called *Mahábuddha* by the messengers from Ava. The tradition, already mentioned, of a temple having been built by *Amarasingha*, in the tenth century of the Christian era, seems to me exceedingly probable, if referred to the great building which is now in the last stage of decay compatible with any thing like a preservation of original form.

I now proceed to mention the present appearance of the ruins, which are situated a few hundred yards west from the *Nitaján* river, on a plain of great extent. They consist of two parts, situated north and south from each other.* That to the north is the largest, being 1,482 feet by

* A plan of the ruins is deposited in the East-India Company's Museum (No. 77).

1,006 in its greatest dimensions, and is called the *rájast'hán* or palace. On the east, north, and west faces, are traces of a ditch; and on the west and south are remains of an outer wall or rampart, with the appearance of there having been a ditch between it and the palace: but by far the greater part of the building seems to have been a large castle or palace, which probably contained many small courts, although these have been entirely obliterated by the operation of time. Except where there are traces of a double wall and ditch, the whole is now an uniform terrace, consisting chiefly, as is said, of bricks, but covered with soil. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the kings of *Magadha* ever lived here since the time of *Dharma Asóka* or his immediate successors. On this ruin has lately, but at different periods, been erected a building containing two temples, with an adjoining habitation. One of the temples contains the hideous *Jagannáth*, and was built by the father of the present occupant: the other is a temple of *Ráma*, built by *Ganga Báí*, who died a year or two ago.

Immediately south from the palace, and separated from it by a road, was the temple, which has left a ruin about 800 feet from east to west, and about 480 feet from north to south. This also seems to have consisted of various courts, now mostly reduced to irregular heaps of brick and stone; for immense quantities of materials have been removed. The largest heap now remaining is at the north-east corner, where there is a very large terrace, on which are two modern small temples. The one farthest east is called *Vágiswarí*, and was erected by one of the *Mahantas* of the great convent of *Samnyásis*. The image placed in it was dug from the ruins; and in its new name no attention has been paid even to sex, as it represents an armed male, while *Vágiswarí* is the goddess of eloquence. The history of the other temple, called that of *Táradévi*, is similar. The image which has been selected, in place of having the form of *Tárá*, one of the most hideous of the female destructive powers, represents a mild-looking prince standing on a throne supported by seven *Buddhas*.* At the east end of this terrace, in order to procure materials for building, there is now forming a great excavation. The workmen have laid open a chamber of brick, a cube of about twenty feet, without window, door, or stair, which could only have been intended for a tomb. Although the followers of *Gautama* in *Ava* burn the dead, yet the bones and ashes are always, I

* A drawing of this image is deposited at the East-India Company's Museum (No. 92).

believe, buried; and I know that those of the priests, at least, are preserved in monuments: and the custom seems to have prevailed among the Buddhists of India, for the late Mr. Duncan informs us,* that in digging into extensive ruins about four miles north from *Banáras*, an inscription was found, along with some bones, in an urn, and an image of a *Buddha*; and Mr. Duncan rationally conjectured that these bones belong to some votary of *Buddha*, which indeed is confirmed by the inscription; it terminates with the sentence usual as a form of dedication on the images of this district, and mentions that *ST'HÍRA PÁL*, and his elder brother *BASANTA PÁL*, king of *Gour*, in the year 1083 of Sambat (A.D. 1062), came to *Kdsi*, performed worship, enriched the city, and ordered all those who did not follow the *Buddhas* to embrace that sect. The chamber, therefore, now opened in the ruins of *Mahábuddha*, was in all probability a tomb.

South from the terrace, and separated from it by a road, which is said to have been covered by an arch, and to have extended all the way to the river, has been a large range of buildings; but the greater part of the materials has been removed, and there only remain some heaps of broken bricks and images, one of which† is very large and curious. It seems to me to represent a prince who has lost his wife, and she is figured lying above his head, and attended by two mourners. The inscription contains merely the usual form of dedication. It is possible that this may have been the royal sepulchre, or at least the place where the monuments of the princes were placed. South from thence has been a small tank.

The arched road above-mentioned led between the two masses now described, into the area of the great *Mandir*, or shrine; the only part of the building that remains at all entire. On the right, as you enter the area, is a small chamber of brick, which contains an image, and has every appearance of being modern; which is also the case with two small chambers on the left; but one of them is evidently alluded to in the inscription given in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, lately quoted. This, which is nearest the entrance, contains several large images, said to have been collected from various parts of the ruins, and built into the wall: five of them, representing an equal number of *Buddhas*, sitting in the usual manner, are commonly said to represent the five supposed sons of *Páandu*.

* *As. Res.* vol. v. p. 131.

† *East-India Company's Museum*, No. 98.

One of them seems clearly to me a funeral monument.* The dead body is laid over the head of the *Muni* or *Buddha*, through whose favour he may be supposed to have reached the upper regions, and is accompanied by two mourners. The inscription is not thoroughly understood by my people, and some of the letters are defaced. It commences with the form of dedication usual among the *Buddhas*, but all that follows is interpreted in quite a different manner by each of three pandits whom I consulted.

The other small chamber is the tomb of the first Mahanta of the convent of *sannyásís*.

Between these buildings and the porch of the great shrine is lying a stone, containing the impression of a *Buddha's* feet, and by the convert called *Buddhapad*; but there can be little doubt that this is the *Vishmupad* alluded to in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. It has evidently been taken from the ruins, several similar having been carried thence to the convent; and round it many images have been heaped. By this mark of the deity's presence is lying a stone, which contains an inscription of considerable length.† Several of the images collected here have inscriptions. The most remarkable image‡ is one called *Sabítrí* (a goddess), but which seems to be a male votary of the *Buddhas*, having a *Muni* seated on his crown, for he resembles a prince. The inscriptions mention no person's name, but invoke the *Buddhas*.

On a male figure§ at the same place, now called *Saraswatí* (a goddess), is the usual pious sentence of the *Buddhists*.

The great shrine, or *Mandir*, is a slender quadrangular pyramid of great height; but its summit is broken, and a part hangs over in a very singular manner. This spire is, on three sides, surrounded by a terrace about twenty-five or thirty feet high, and the extreme dimensions of which are seventy-eight feet wide by ninety-eight long, and one end of this terrace towards the east has covered the porch; but that has fallen, and brought down the part of the terrace by which it was covered.

A stair from each side of the porch led up to the terrace, on which there was a fine walk round the temple, leading to the second story of the shrine in front, and to a large area behind, on which is planted a celebrated *píppal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*). As this is still an object of worship,

* E. I. C's. Mus. No. 82.

† Ibid. No. 91.

‡ Ibid. No. 113.

§ Ibid. No. 99.

and frequented by pilgrims from *Gáya*, as I have already mentioned, the north side of the terrace has been repaired as a road; and some zealous person has lately built a stair on the outside, so that the orthodox may pass up without entering the porch, and thus seeing the hateful image of *Buddha*. The *Mandir* has been covered with plaster, some remains of which shew that it has been subdivided into numberless projecting corners, petty mouldings, and niches, each containing the image of a *Buddha* in plaster; and on each projecting corner has been placed a stone somewhat like a bee-hive,* having a *Buddha* carved on each of its four faces, with a hole in the top for incense. The number of such now scattered over the country is almost inconceivable. The porch has always been small; and since it fell, some persons have cleared away the ruins and constructed a gate of the fragments. The shrine or cavity in the *Mandir* that is on a level with the ground, and the entrance to which was through the porch, is small, and covered with a Gothic arch, the plaster-work on which has been divided into small compartments, each containing an image of a *Buddha*. The whole far end of the chamber has been occupied by a throne of stone (*singhdsan*) in a very bad taste, and which has been disfigured by a motley row of images taken from the ruins, and built on its front, so as to hide parts of the deity. This is a monstrous mis-shapen daub of clay, and has been well enough represented in a drawing published, if I recollect, by the late Col. Symes. The extreme rudeness of this image may, perhaps, be considered as a proof of great antiquity; and this may have been the original image placed here in the time of GAUTAMA, round which the temple has been constructed. There is, however, current a tradition of the original image having been gold, and of its having been removed by the Muhammedans; so that the present image is supposed to have been made after the sect had undergone persecution, and could no longer procure workmen capable of making a decent substitute.

Above this chamber are two others, one on the level of the old terrace, and the other still higher; but with these the falling of the porch has cut off all communication. Several of the people, however, in the vicinity, remember the porch standing, and have frequently been in the chambers, a stair from the terrace leading to the uppermost. This was quite empty, and was probably the place where treasure was deposited. The middle

* Deh.

chamber has a throne, but the image has been removed; and if there ever was an image of gold, this was probably its place.

The terrace enlarges behind the temple, towards the west, and forms an area, on which is growing the *pippal* tree, which the orthodox suppose to have been planted by BRAHMÁ. The worshippers of GAUTAMA, on the contrary, assert that it is placed exactly in the centre of this earth, and call it *Bódhidruma*. They say that it was planted by DUGDHA-CÁMINI, king of *Singhal-dwíp* (Ceylon), 2,225 years before A.D. 1811; that is, according to them, 125 years before the building of the temple. The tree is in full vigour, and cannot, in all probability, exceed a hundred years in age; but a similar one may have existed in the same place when the temple was entire. Around its root has been lately raised a circular elevation of brick and mortar in various concentric stages; and on one of these has been placed a confused multitude of images and carved fragments of stone, taken from the ruins. On the pedestal of one of these images, representing a man with a woman sitting on his knee, which is one of the most usual figures in the district, the messengers from Ava carved an account of their visit, of which a copy is given,* and which must render us cautious in admitting the inscriptions on the various images in this district to have any connexion with their worship or erection.

The number of images at *Buddha Gáya* is very great; and there is scarcely any one form of those that are scattered so numerous about the whole country, for eight or ten coss in all directions, which may not be found in its immediate neighbourhood belonging to the great temple. This also seems to me to have been the quarry, as it were, from which almost the whole of those, for eight or ten coss round, have been carried. Many which are now worshipped by the orthodox, and no doubt have a strong resemblance to, and many attributes of, the gods of the present Hindus, seem to me to have had the same origin. It is evident, indeed, that the people are totally careless in this respect, worshipping males by the names of females, and female images for male deities. Nay, some of the images which they worship are actually *Buddhas* in the most unequivocal forms; while on, or over the heads of others there are representations of these lawgivers, as testifying their superiority. Another mark, by which most of these images may be known to have belonged to the *Buddhas*, is

* East-India Company's Museum, No. 109.

the enormous size and distention of the lobe of their ears, which is very general in the images of this district, and even prevails in many of such as have in other respects the most decided appearance of the idols now worshipped. Another mark still, by which the convert asserts that all images formed by this sect may be distinguished, is a mark on the palm of the hands and soles of the feet, which is supposed to resemble the lotus flower.

In the drawings* I have given representations of many of the most curious images remaining in the immediate vicinity of the old temple, and built into the walls, or deposited within the convent of the *Sannyásís*, and all confessedly taken from the ruins.

The converted *Sannyási* pretends, that during the present existence of the world, except those of the four *munis* or lawgivers, none of these images were ever worshipped by the followers of the *Buddhas*; and that all the others were intended as ornaments, or monuments to represent either the various inferior beings of power (*Dévatás*) who are admitted to exist by his sect as well as by the orthodox, or various persons whom their own vanity, or the affection of their own relations or disciples, wished to commemorate. This, I know, is the doctrine now entertained in Ava by the followers of GAUTAMA, and which would, of course, be taught to him by the messengers through whom he was converted: but I have great doubt how far it is applicable to the followers of the *Buddhas* who formerly existed in this country. In *Népál* I know that the *Buddhists* worship all the *Dévatás*, and especially *SIVA* and the destructive female power; and I think it probable, that the *Buddhists* here did the same. The number of *lingas*, single, in rows, or in clusters, simple and adorned with human faces, crocodile heads, &c. is fully equal to that of the *munis*, both at *Buddha Gáya* and *Barágáng*; and some of the images of the destructive female power are so remarkable and large, that I think they must have been intended as objects of worship. There can be no doubt, however, that by far the greater part of the host of images in the more decorated temples of the Hindus of all sects, is merely ornamental; and I think it probable, that most of the images of the *Buddhas* have been intended to represent the great multitude of such personages as have in former revolutions of the world obtained everlasting bliss, and were never in-

* East-India Company's Museum, No. 78 to 101.

tended to be worshipped, nor even revered. In the whole number, the messengers of Ava pointed out only four images, which they considered as representing the four *munis* or lawgivers who had appeared in this world, and which they knew by various annexed emblems. In the account of the embassy to Ava has been given a drawing of *Mahamuni*, who was worshipped in the great *Mandir*.

I directed drawings to be taken of the other three, which have been removed into the convent of the *Sannydsís*, to protect them from injury; but one only, which represents *Gautama*,* was executed. The painters neglected to draw *Chandra muni* and *Súkyá muni*, which, they said, exactly resembled each other and an image previously drawn: but this, probably, is a mistake. The image, which they had previously drawn, may, indeed, have had a strong resemblance to both, and may be the same with one of them; but the other must be distinguished by some emblem that escaped their notice. The images representing the *Buddhas*, whether lawgivers of this world or not, are easily known by a simple robe, a natural human shape, placid countenance, curled hair, and long ears. Although the image above-mentioned is said to represent *Gautama*, there is nothing in the inscription to ascertain that it was intended for an object of worship. It would appear from the tenor that JAYA-SÉN and KUMÁRA-SÉN, sons of PUNYABHADRA, son of SÁMANTA (all untitled persons), erected the image as a monument of their father's holiness. Another image,† according to the inscription on it, was erected by a *Rájá* VIJAYABHADRA, of whom nothing more is known.

* East-India Company's Museum, No. 78.

† Ibid. No. 79.

III. *Observations respecting the Small-Pox and Inoculation in Eastern Countries ; with some Account of the Introduction of Vaccination into India.* By *WHITELAW AINSLIE, M.D. M.R.A.S.*

Read June 16, 1827.

THERE was a time, when to treat of the small-pox must have been a task truly painful ; when, alas ! little more could be done than to trace its devastations and its horrors : but, thanks to heaven and the perseverance of the benevolent, those days are long past, and the subject can at length be viewed in a very different light. Relieved from the distressing office of but too frequently having to offer a vain consolation to a virtuous mother sorrowing for the loss of a darling child, medical men can now speak of the disease with far other feelings ; with the same satisfaction, to use a metaphor, that is felt in painting the blessings of an honourable peace, which have succeeded to a long and disastrous war ; or the joy of a private family, which has finally risen into comfort and security, through a protracted struggle of domestic affliction.

Much difference of opinion has existed with regard to the period when the small-pox, or as it has lately been scientifically named, the *emphyesis variola*, made its first appearance in the world ; and some authors have believed that this disorder, as well as the *measles*, with which it was in early ages confounded, were coeval with the human race. We certainly have no proof that either the Greeks or Romans were acquainted with it : at least no account is to be found in any of their works which perfectly agrees with its pathognomonic signs,* minutely examined as those works have been, for the purpose of such discovery, by several of our most distinguished writers.† That it raged in China long before it was observed in Europe, is

* It would seem, however, that both *Salmasius*, and after him *Johannes Hahn*, a Dutch writer, had entertained a different opinion, and supposed that the disease had been described under another name (anthrax) by Hippocrates, and noticed by Celsus, Galen, and *Ætius* : a supposition so absurd, that it cannot for a moment be listened to.*

† See Mead's medical works, vol. i. p. 229 ; also Willan on the Diseases of the Skin, vol. i. pp. 251-252.

a fact no longer doubted. Every one conversant with the history of the *variola* must have heard of a Chinese treatise on it, entitled *Taou-tchin-fa*, in which it is stated, that it did not show itself in that part of the world sooner than the year 1122 before Christ; and Father d'Entrecolles, a Jesuit, mentions having seen a work in which it is described as a malady of the earliest ages.* Many maintain that India gave birth to this hydra: and it has, unquestionably, been a dreadful scourge in that country from the most remote antiquity; a truth of which the reader may easily be assured by turning to *Sonnerat*, '*Voyages aux Indes Orientales*,'† and also to a curious account of inoculating for the small-pox in the East-Indies, by J. Z. Holwell, published in 1767.

Rather varying information has been given of the goddess who is supposed by the Hindus to preside over this plague on the continent of India, and on Ceylon. By the *sástra* which Sonnerat consulted, it appears that *Mariatalé* (*Mariyatáli*), the wife of *Chamadaguini* (*Jamadagni*), and mother of *Parapourama* (*Parasu-ráma*), was the divine being in question, and that the power of healing this dreadful affection was bestowed upon her by the deities named *Dévéلكers*. Temples are dedicated to her, and festivals celebrated in her honour; some of the ceremonies of which are of a nature so cruel‡ as to be highly reprobated by even the Brahmins themselves. In some tracts of southern India she is supplicated, worshipped, and her wrath deprecated, under the name of *Mariamámá*; in others lying farther north, under that of *Sítalá*:§ hence the Hindustani appellation of *باري سیتلا* *bari sítlá*, by which the small-pox is well known to the Mahometans.

Philip Baldæus has said, in his work entitled "A true and exact Description of the East-Indies," published in 1664, that in Ceylon the small-pox goddess is called *Patagráli*. He has given us a print of her, as having a tremendous form, with eight faces and sixteen arms; and asserts that she was the daughter of a god called *Ixora* (*Iśwara*). Be all this as it may, certain it is, as already advanced, that the evil in question has been felt and dreaded,

* See Moore's excellent History of the Small-Pox, p. 23.

† Tom. i. p. 244.

‡ At one of those ceremonies a man is suspended in the air by means of a cord run through the fleshy part of his loins. In this way he is whirled round at the extremity of a long pole, and at a great height from the ground.

§ This goddess is painted as a yellow woman sitting on a water-lily. Worship is offered at her shrine on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of the increasing moon; on the 10th the image is thrown into the water.—See Ward's View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindus, vol. i. p. 174.

not only in India, but in several of the adjacent territories,* from time immemorial; and it is but too true, that till the good effects of vaccination began to be there experienced, in no region of the earth were its ravages more appalling. Not rarely did it happen, that whole villages were depopulated: the distemper, besides, but too often assumed its most malignant form (*variola pustulis numerosis confluentibus*), which, amongst the natives, proved so generally mortal, that the relations of the poor sufferers, on discovering its putrid nature, not unfrequently cut asunder the ties of human affection, and deserted them altogether, moving off to a different part of the country, or to the opposite and windward side of a town, with such of the family as either had the disease of a milder kind (*variola pustulis paucis discretis*), or had hitherto escaped the contagion.

Hillary† speaks of the small-pox and measles as “originally hatched and bred in, and properly indigenous to Arabia, probably in its most southern districts.” Mead, on the other hand, thought it commenced its havoc in Africa, and more especially in Ethiopia: a notion which appears to be confirmed by Dr. John Reiske, of Leyden, who being well versed in Arabic literature, ascertained from certain relics, that about the year of our Lord 572, the same in which Mahomet was born, Ethiopian traders carried the malady for the first time into Arabia. Dr. Friend, however, was of an opposite opinion; and in his “History of Medicine” tells us, that he believes it was first brought into Egypt during the caliphate of OMAR, about the year of Christ 640, by the Arabians, who had been infected by some Eastern or remote nation: and why not, we should add, according to the testimony of Webster,‡ by the Hindus? “Ab Indiâ orientale in Egyptum, inde in Arabiam, denique in Europam, variola pestis illa gravissima, commigrasse videtur.” Although, by this quotation, the learned physician seems to have thought that the small-pox had, on its way from the East, reached Egypt previously to its committing its ravages in Arabia; at all events, once established there, we can readily conceive how quickly it must have been spread by the Saracen conquerors.

Baron Dimsdale says: “it is granted that the small-pox was imported from Asia by the crusaders, and did not shew itself in Europe before the thir-

* See an account of an embassy to Thibet, by Captain Samuel Turner, in 1800, pp. 219–220.

† See Woodville’s History of the Small-Pox, vol. i. p. 2.

‡ Vide Medecin. Prac. System. Carol. Webster, edit. tom i. p. 288.

“teenth century:” a statement which we cannot reconcile with the facts, that both *Constantius* in Italy and *Avenzoar* in Spain, had noticed the evil as common in those dominions, in the eleventh century. Nay, we know that Mr. Moore, in his history* of the disease, gives us a curious account of the primary introduction of both it and the measles into Spain, by means of a Saracen invasion, occasioned by a rape committed by a king, and the consequent vengeance of a beautiful woman, as far back as the year 710. At what time Britain was first made to feel the effects of a disorder which other nations already lamented, it is impossible exactly to determine. We can only say with confidence, that by the earliest British medical writers, which were those of the thirteenth century,† the complaint is generally noticed. New Spain, according to Garcia,‡ was originally visited by it in 1520, when he declares it proved fatal to half the people of the provinces to which the infection extended. Then again we learn from Mr. Condamine, in his “Mémoire sur l’Inoculation,” p. 61, that about fifty years after the discovery of Peru, this affection was carried over from Europe to America by the way of Carthagera. Now, as Peru was discovered by Pizarro§ in 1526, it would appear by this account, that the *variola* did not reach America before 1576, which but ill agrees with what has been stated by Garcia. In addition to all this I must here observe that, according to Robertson, Hispaniola|| suffered dreadfully from the small-pox in 1517: but as such discussion may be considered as a little foreign to my subject, referring as it does more immediately to Eastern countries, I briefly hint, before proceeding to further particulars, that the small-pox in a northern direction did not arrive at the frozen region of Greenland¶ before the year 1733, when it nearly carried off the whole of the inhabitants.

Whatever may be the varying sentiments regarding the era when the small-pox first shed its malignity on mankind, or its subsequent propagation, the same differences do not exist with respect to the writer who first

* See History of the Small-Pox, page 76.

† Dr. Woodville, however, from an examination of many books in the British Museum, states that he has reason to think the small-pox was known in our island long before the Crusades began, in 1096.

‡ Garcia, Origin. p. 88, cited by Robertson in his History of America, vol. iii. p. 400.

§ See Robertson’s History of America, book iii.

|| Ibid. book iii.

¶ Grantz’s History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 336.

published on the subject. Aaron of Alexandria, a distinguished author in the time of Mahomet, gave some account of the disease, according to the testimony of Rhazis,* who himself treats both of this and the measles, and who is, indeed, as Woodville justly allows, the principal amongst the old physicians in whose works, still extant, the attention of the world was called to the then reigning calamity. Aaron was a very voluminous writer, an adept in medicine as well as a priest of Alexandria, when that city was besieged by the Saracens, and was by every account highly esteemed in Arabia. It is a curious fact, that this learned man does not take the least notice of the contagious nature of the small-pox, but supposed it to proceed from an ebullition of the blood.† He it was, by all I can learn, who originally adopted the hypothesis of an adust blood and bile, of corrupt humours, and, what is interesting to know, of “refrigerants which could retain pustules, and warm medicines which could expel them externally:” realities which formed the basis of that method of treating the malady, by the free admission of cool air and other antiphlogistic means, first distinctly suggested by Sydenham,‡ afterwards improved by Boerhaave,§ and finally meliorated and established by Cullen in 1779. The next authors, in order of time, who wrote on the disorder, were Bachtishua and John the son of Mesue. The first was physician to the Caliph ALMANSOR, in the eighth century; and, according to Rhazis,|| maintained that the measles were occasioned by blood mixed with a large proportion of bile, and that the small-pox proceeded from an over gross and moist blood. The latter (John the son of Mesue) flourished towards the beginning of the ninth century; though, according to some, at a later period, he was a physician at the court of Haroun al Raschid, and renowned for his general learning as well as professional zeal.

Of the labours of the Arabian writers just mentioned, but a few scattered fragments have escaped the ravages of time; but the works of *Isaak* the Israelite, remain. The exact time in which he lived cannot be distinctly ascertained; but, from the order in which *Hali Abbas* quotes him, it may have been in the ninth century. He would seem to have been an intelli-

* Vide *Rhazis de variolis et morbillis*. Edit. Canning.

† See Dr. Mason Good's "Study of Medicine, vol. ii. p. 619.

‡ Born at Winford Eagle in Dorsetshire, in 1624.

§ Born near Leyden, in 1668, and became the most celebrated medical writer and practitioner of his day.

|| Vide Rhazis.

gent and amiable man, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek authors of all descriptions.

Serapion treated slightly of the distemper, and dwells much on the advantage to be derived from a light acescent diet. He lived and published towards the end of the ninth century; cites Mesue, who practised physic at Bagdad A.D. 795, and is himself referred to by Rhazis. This last-mentioned medical sage, for so he was reckoned, was named after a city of Khorassan, *Rhei*, in which he was born. He wrote, as already stated, professedly *de variolis, et morbillis*, obtained great repute towards the beginning of the tenth century, and was the first who remarked that there were instances of the small-pox having occurred twice, and even thrice,* in the same person. *Abulpharagius*† speaks of him under the name of *Muhammed Ebn Zacharia al Razi*. Pocock makes him to have died in 930, and informs us that he was not only an able physician, but skilled in music, philosophy, and astronomy.

In the course of time came Hali Abbas, who was named by the Saracens *Mhalūki*, and was of the order of the magi. This distinguished Arabian wrote his famous *Regalis Dispositio* about the year 980: it is a general treatise on the healing art, dedicated to Caliph EDDOULAT, and was translated from the Arabic into Latin by Stephanus, in 1492. Farther, however, than having made an approach to the discovery of the contagion, as the erudite Mr. Moore well calls it, Hali Abbas did little towards making mankind better acquainted with the true nature of the small-pox. He confounded it with the measles. He had some strange notions of the disorder being probably produced by the dregs of the milk, the better portion of which had been taken away by the suckling child, and betrays in many parts of his work that he was a great borrower from Hippocrates.

It is not necessary for my present purpose, that I should enumerate all the ancient Eastern or other authors, who may have at different times treated of a complaint which continued in those days to spread terror and dismay. If the reader is curious on the subject, he may find much relevant and well-arranged information in a work which I have repeatedly alluded to, Mr. Moore's History of the Small-pox. Suffice it here to observe, that up to the fifteenth century, there appeared in succession the far-famed Avicenna, born at Bokhara in A.D. 992, who spoke decidedly of the con-

* Vide Rhazis Contin. lib. xxiii. cap. 8.

† Vide *Abulphar Dyn.* ed. Pocock, p. 191.

tagiousness of both small-pox and measles* (the last disease, however, he looked upon as no other than what he calls a bilious small-pox); Avenzoar, who was a native of Seville and a cotemporary of Avicenna; Constantius, who lived towards the end of the eleventh century, and was born at Carthage: he was a medical practitioner of great note, having studied at Babylon as well as Bagdad; Averrhoes, a Spanish Moor, who wrote on Medicine in the twelfth century: he translated Aristotle, and published a work entitled *Colliget*; Albucasis, who gave to the world a book named *Al Tarif*, more in repute for some judicious surgical opinions than any thing new it contained: he also wrote in the twelfth century; Gilbert, who composed a compendium of medicine, and which is the oldest English medical tract now extant: Dr. Friend conjectured that he flourished about the end of the thirteenth century, in the reign of the first Edward, though we have no testimony that, on the subject of small-pox, he brought forward one original idea; after him came Gentili of Foligno, and Herculaneus, both of whose writings are involved in all the erroneous doctrines of Avicenna; and lastly, John of Gaddesden, who was author of the famous dissertation on medicine known by the appellation of the "*English Rose*," and who, though he was principal physician to Edward II., has, in his chapter on small-pox and measles, omitted few of the mistakes of the Arabians.

From the fifteenth up to the middle of the seventeenth century, the science of medicine continued gradually to improve. Many ridiculous theories, however, regarding the *variolous* disease were broached during that period; till, as we have seen, our distinguished countryman, Sydenham, dispelling those clouds which had long darkened the medical horizon, brought to light a new era in physic: nor was the brilliancy of his reputation, as has been well said by an able writer,† in any way obscured by his immediate successors, great as they were, Etmuller, Boerhaave, and Cullen.

Perhaps no disease, to which the human frame is subject, has excited more laborious discussion than the small-pox; yet, after all, little of a positive nature has been ascertained respecting it, beyond the facts, that it is produced by a specific contagion, or a matter, as it has been called, *sui generis*; that it rarely happens that the same person is attacked twice by it; that it is distinguished into a mild and malignant sort; and lastly, that the Almighty

* Vide Avicen. Canon, lib. iv. tom. 1. cap. 6.

† Mr. Moore.

has, in his mercy, bestowed on mankind no less than two powerful weapons with which to combat it: these are *Inoculation* and *Vaccination*. How the small-pox could at first have originated sets all conjecture at defiance; and it must be difficult to account for this singularity regarding it, that although nothing but variolous matter, under some modification or other, has the effect of generating the disease,* yet it seems to be more prevalent at some seasons than at others; as if its appearance was consequent on a peculiar state of the air; an idea which has been held very cheap by the author just cited, as well as by others.†

Many physicians of note believe that the small-pox contagion is limited to a very narrow circle, and that it is rarely conveyed by the wind to a distance; and we know that Dr. Haygarth in his "sketch of a plan to exterminate this malady from Great Britain," tells us that certain facts appear to exhibit negative proofs, that open air is not contaminated by it to a greater distance from the patient than one thousand five hundred feet, and probably not to one hundredth part of that space: how then did it happen, it may be asked, that for years together in India, previous to the practice of vaccination, the malady was not heard of in some districts; then, without a possibility of its being traced to any evident cause, did it come like a pestilence, spreading with rapid strides, and sparing neither sex nor age nor condition? So much was the calamity dreaded, that religious ceremonies were, and I presume still are, performed annually in every village to deprecate the scourge; humble supplications were made by people of all ranks at the shrine of the small-pox goddess; and prayers offered up, calling on her to take under her care such as might be suffering from, or had not yet been visited by, the terrible affliction.

The mild disorder *variola discreta* is called in Tamul *Peri ammay*, in Telinga, *Pedamma*; in Pali,* *Kruivan*; in Sanscrit *Masúrikā*; and in Dukhanie, *Bari-sítlá*: it may be found treated of in various Tamul *sastras*, common in Lower India; but more especially in that named *Vaittiya Vaghadam Arit Anyúru*, a medical work by Agastya. The same complaint is termed by the modern Arabians, *Ableh* ابله also *Aljuderi*; and by the Malays, *Cachar* تاجار; a well written treatise on it in Arabic is entitled كتاب الجدري والحصبه, and was composed by *Abu Jáfár Ahmed bin Muhammed*. In a Sanscrit book common in Ceylon and written in the Singalese cha-

* See Woodville's History of the Small-pox, p. 3. † See Dr. Wilson on febrile diseases.

racter, entitled *Madhava Nidhana*, consisting of 1,875 verses, the small-pox is fully described. To the confluent form the Tamuls have given the appellation of *Panisheri ammai*, and both this and the simple affection assume nearly the same appearances in India that they do in colder countries; with this difference, that in the hot climate, owing, it may be presumed, to the stimulus of heat, the distemper is evidently a little accelerated in all its stages. It is a singular fact that the small-pox most frequently shews itself in the East in the cold season; that is, on the Coromandel coast, from the end of November to the middle of February; and I have also observed that, in general, at that period, it is more apt to be severe than in the warm and dry weather. For this last peculiarity it might be difficult to assign a cause, unless we are allowed to suppose that those who have the disease suffer more from being, in the cold months, closely pent up in their small huts (which, owing to their clay floors, mud walls, and straw roofs, must be extremely damp*), instead of being allowed to lie in open verandas, as they had been in the hot season, where they enjoyed at least a free circulation of air, and were at the same time screened from the mid-day heat.

By Dr. Hillary's† account of the small-pox in Barbadoes, however, it would seem to have appeared there generally in the months of March, April, and May, which constitute in that island the warm and dry season of the year. It is strange that Moseley, who wrote professedly on the disorders of hot climates, should not mention the malady; nor does Dr. Hunter, in his "Diseases of Jamaica," take the least notice of it; though I perceive that it has found a place in a little work entitled "Letters and Essays on some of the West-India Complaints," by Mr. Quier,‡ in which he informs us that the small-pox began to shew itself a little before Christmas in 1767; at first mildly, but as the season advanced it grew frequently fatal, and as summer came on it was often of the worst kind. In Minorca, which though not a tropical, is a hot country, Cleghorn§ tells us that the disease was epidemic in 1742 and 1746. When it first appeared in 1742, the inhabitants were astonished, as they had not seen the disorder for the last seventeen years,

* To the great dampness of Cork, owing to its situation and other causes, Dr. Walker ascribes the severity of the small-pox in that city. See his work on the Small-pox.

† See his Diseases of Barbadoes, p. 17.

‡ See Work, pp. 4 and 5.

§ See Cleghorn's Diseases of Minorca.

but remembered well the havoc it had then committed. In fact, as far as I can learn, no part of the world, with the exception, perhaps, of some of the smaller lately discovered islands, is now altogether exempt from the evil. In Ceylon* it was often of the worst kind; in Java (where it is termed *ketumban*), in Sumatra, and in China,† it was terrible; nor was it less so in the Malayan Peninsula and in all the different Eastern islands. At Banda and Amboina it had been observed to shew itself once in six or seven years; but, alas! the visits, "though far between," were generally most baneful in their consequences.

Inoculation for the small-pox, I should suppose, must have been known and practised, in some provinces of Asia, at a more remote period‡ than we can by any authentic records ascertain; nor is it a matter of great consequence, to obtain any very minute information as to the time. I think it probable that this method of rendering the complaint milder may have been had recourse to in different countries, without any communication whatever having taken place betwixt them on the subject; and, in all likelihood, was discovered in each by observing the consequences arising from chance contact, when the pustules were broken: in the same way that the cow-pox was first noticed by milk-maids, or those employed in handling the cows. Many conjectures have been given to the world: Mr. Maty was of opinion, that the regions lying betwixt the Caspian and Euxine seas, were the centre from which inoculation spread: for this supposition, however, Dr. Woodville§ thinks there are no satisfactory grounds. D'Entrecolles has remarked, that the Tartars were entirely ignorant of it in 1724: and the same author has observed, that in the province of Kean-nan, and in the other eastern parts of China, it is more frequently resorted to than in the western. Whether China or India has the prior claim to the discovery of inoculation, is a point still undetermined. Some Jesuits scruple not to say, that it was from the former transmitted equally to India and to Europe. Again, we learn from Chais's "*Essai Apologétique sur la Méthode de communiquer la Petite-verolle par Inoculation*," as well as from other authorities, that it was practised in

* See the Rev. J. Cordiner's Description of Ceylon, vol. i. p. 254.

† See Dr. John Clark's Diseases of Long Voyages, vol. i. p. 128.

‡ See the Rev. W. Ward's View of the History, Religion, and Literature of the Hindoos, vol. iv. p. 339.

§ See his History of Inoculation, vol. i. p. 86.

in Hindustan from the most remote antiquity. Condamine, while at Naples in 1769, was told that inoculation had been common there from time immemorial; and Dr. Russell* has stated, that the Turkman tribes had been in the habit of inoculating for ages past. Nay, something very like this is also expressed by Niebuhr, with regard to the adoption of it amongst the Arabians.† Of the exact epoch at which this method of mitigating the distemper first attracted notice in England, we have sufficient testimony; it originated in a communication made by Dr. Emanuel Timoni, a Greek, who had studied at Oxford and Padua, to his friend Dr. Woodward, from Constantinople‡ in 1713, in consequence of having witnessed the good effects of it in that city; which communication was afterwards published, in 1714, in the Philosophical Transactions: and it is as well known, that Lady Wortley Montague's daughter was inoculated in London with success in 1722, by Mr. Maitland, who had performed the same operation on her son, a short time before, at Constantinople, and who lost no time in disseminating the blessing throughout the British dominions. In South Wales, however, and in the Highlands,§ inoculation is considered by some to have been practised by the old women at a period antecedent to its introduction from the East: and I do not think it at all improbable, countenanced as the assumption is by a letter from Dr. Wright to Mr. Bevan, which may be found in the Philosophical Transactions for 1722, and also by Dr. Monro's account of vaccination in Scotland.

Although we cannot say that inoculation was ever very generally adopted in India by the natives, yet it is sufficiently well understood, that it is practised there, and in various modes, in different provinces. It is in the hands of a particular tribe of Brahmens; but who, though they are remunerated for their labours, are, I fear, often more mysterious than industrious in their avocation. Mr. Moore gives a full account of the method pursued in some of the northern tracts of Hindustan, as described, I think, by Mr. Holwell; and notices the necessary prayers that are recited during the ceremony of the operation, as appointed in the *Atharva Veda* to propitiate the small-pox

* See an account of inoculating in Arabia, in a letter from Dr. P. Russel, Phil. Trans., vol. lvi. p. 140.

† See Niebuhr's account of Arabia, p. 123, French edition.

‡ Into which city it would appear to have been introduced from the Morea.

§ See Dr. Wilson's Work on Febrile Diseases, vol. ii. p. 286.

deity. The Rev. W. Ward* informs us, that inoculation is performed not by the regular doctors (*vaidya*), but by a lower order of Brahmens (*Daivajnya*), at any period of the year, but chiefly on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of the increase of the moon. This valuable writer also tells us (vol. iv. p. 339), that the variolous matter is introduced into the child's arm nearly in the same way that it is in Europe; but the place chosen is just above the wrist; in the right arm of the male, and the left of the female. I found, while in the Ganjam circar, that inoculation had been prevalent there when the European conquerors first got possession of it; and I have no doubt, from what I witnessed and have since heard, that it must have been customary in that district for many ages past. There is this peculiarity in the fact, that it is not amongst the Gentoos who inhabit the range of low and richly cultivated country along the sea shore that the salutary precaution is usually resorted to, but amongst men comparatively less civilized, who talk a barbarous dialect, have a dissenting form of religion, and who live in the more inland and hilly country. They are called *Worriahs*, and are distinguished by boldness, hardihood, and attachment to their respective rajas: a brave, handsome race, who cherish independence, and usually build their castles in the most inaccessible and woody recesses of their mountainous dominions; by which means they but too often have it in their power to give infinite trouble to our regular troops, in times of disaffection and revolt. Here, as in Upper India, it is by a class of Brahmens that inoculation is practised; they assume an exclusive right to it, and from the circumstance of their being priests and physicians combined, they can not only exercise their healing skill, but by their pretended immediate intercourse with the goddess who presides over the disease, can either petition for a mild affection, or in cases of danger, supplicate for the safety of the patient; seldom failing, on such occasions, to carry the little sufferer to the image of the goddess, before which it is bathed with the same water that had been offered at the shrine. The *Worriah* word for small-pox is *Tikarāni*: to inoculation they have given the name of *Tikar*, and the inoculators are called *Tikar Brahmens*. A dose or two of some opening medicine is, for the most part, given previously to the operation being performed; and great care is taken that the child has no eruption on the skin. The infection is conveyed by means of

* See his *View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 174.

a sharp instrument, which is first inserted dry under the cuticle, and after having been moistened at the point with the variolous matter, is inserted in the same incision, and there kept for a short time. The part commonly chosen for the reception of the virus is on the outer and upper part of the wrist. Both arms are inoculated at once; and immediately after the office is performed they are slightly bound up, the patient being also ordered to take a little of the virus internally, mixed up with rice in the form of a pill. From this period till the fever comes on, he is ordered to be bathed twice or thrice daily in cold water, is cautiously kept from the sun's rays, and when the pustules are ripe they are all opened with a needle. With the exception of a little unrefined sugar (*jágari*), nothing in the way of medicine is given; and this is administered rather as it makes also a part of the offering to the goddess, than from any notion of its virtues.

In the pure habits of the Hindus it may easily be imagined that the inoculated small-pox is almost constantly benign; and this mildness, together with the simplicity of the operation, added no doubt to the powerful influence of custom for centuries, made the inhabitants of India not a little reluctant to the introduction of vaccination. At all times blindly devoted to their ancient modes, interwoven as they are with their religious doctrines, beyond perhaps any people on earth, they are strongly averse to whatever innovations might lead them to forsake the usages of their ancestors; and why they should give a preference to a new method of combating the disorder, which they felt had already been rendered sufficiently innocent, they neither could comprehend nor wished to have explained to them.

Previously to the introduction of vaccination into India, inoculation for the small-pox was almost invariably attended with the happiest effects amongst the European inhabitants. The time of life selected for receiving the disease was generally after the child had cut all its first teeth; and the season of the year, that which ensues after the rains are over. But, with all its advantages, inoculation must still be allowed, for many obvious reasons, to be far inferior to the recent and more extraordinary discovery of *vaccination*, for most of what is practically valuable in which the world stands indebted to the observations and patient investigation of Dr. Jenner, who, prompted by the best feelings of humanity, and supported by the spirit of ingenious research, most happily established one of the greatest blessings that was ever bestowed on man.

With regard to the origin of the Jennerian disease, for so it ought perhaps to be called, there has been not a little discussion. The Illyauts of Persia say it is found upon their *milch sheep*. Dr. Jenner himself, in his tract above cited, has traced it from the heels of the horse* to the nipple of the cow, and from that to the hands of the dairy-maid. This notion met with considerable opposition; and many experiments were in consequence made to ascertain whether the cow-pox could or could not be produced by the matter of grease applied to the udder of the cow. Woodville, Coleman, and others, attempted to bring the regular malady into action in this way, and failed; though it would appear that subsequent experiments by Dr. Loy were attended with an opposite result; and, from the facts† adduced by this last-mentioned gentleman, we are led to conclude that Dr. Jenner was correct in his opinion; and that a person who has been infected with the disorder from a horse's heels, becomes equally unsusceptible of the small-pox contagion as if he had had the common vaccine disease. From Dr. Loy's conclusion we are induced to believe, that there are two kinds of grease to which the horse is subject; one merely local, the other attended with constitutional and febrile symptoms;‡ and that it is from the eruption which accompanies the latter, only, that the fluid can be obtained which produces the genuine cow-pox vesicle: and, in this way, some late writers have accounted for the non-success of Dr. Woodville and others, who may not have made choice of the proper disorder in the horse. Further investigation might have been made, to put the point in question for ever at rest: though, after all, it is perhaps of little consequence. To have found the cow-pox producing fluid in the purest of all animals (the cow), ought surely to be sufficient guarantee for our most confident repose.

The discovery of vaccine inoculation in England naturally excited great interest and curiosity amongst the inhabitants of other territories, and whilst they admired and adopted it, they were not a little anxious to obtain, if possible, the wonderful preservative, from the cows of their respective countries. Dr. Lewis Sacco of Milan, in his treatise on the cow-pox, informs us that the cows of Lombardy are subject to this affection, and that it is contagious in the herd. C. Favo, vaccine inoculation director, addressed a

* See Dr. Jenner's Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolæ Vaccinæ, p. 6.

† Loy's Account of some Experiments on the Origin of the Cow-Pox, p. 20.

‡ See Annals of Medicine, vol. ii., p. 263.

letter to Dr. Woodville, from Milan, dated 7th of November 1801, in which he observed that he was the first person in Italy who found that the cow-pox prevailed amongst the cows of that part of the world. In America,* after much industrious research, this singular vesicle was discovered by Dr. William Buel of Sheffield, in the state of Massachusetts, on the cows of that place, about the middle of May 1801: it was also found in the state of Connecticut, by Dr. Elisha North of Goshen, as well as by Dr. J. Trowbridge of Danbury; and there is no doubt, that it has been met with in several other of the American provinces. I should rejoice if I could here add, that we had been equally fortunate in India; but, alas! in no part of those vast dominions, as far as I can learn, is the vaccine disease at present to be found on the cows; neither has the exact affection of the horses' heels, which has obtained the name of grease, been seen. It is more than probable, however, that on the cows of the adjoining country of Butan† the complaint might be discovered, were it diligently sought after: as that is a land, notwithstanding its low latitude (from $26^{\circ} 30'$ to $28^{\circ} 50'$ north) in which are found many of the productions of Europe, owing to its great elevation above the level of the sea. It must be remarked, that I have said that the vaccine disease cannot at *present* be found on the cows of India. This expression I have used, as there are some grounds for believing that inoculation for the cow-pox was known in days of old to the Hindu medical writers. From a communication written by *Calvi Virambam*, a learned Hindu, and which appeared in the *Madras Courier* of the 12th January 1819, I make the following extract. "To substantiate the fact that the inoculation of the cow-pox was known in remote times to the *Vaidyas*, it is only necessary to refer to the *Sacteya Grantha*, attributed to *Dhanwantari*, and therefore undoubtedly an ancient composition. In one part of the work, after describing nine *several* kinds of small-pox, of which three (one *alabi*, being the confluent) are declared incurable, the author proceeds to lay down the rules for the practice of inoculation. From this part the following two excerpts are made; of the first of which the original is given in the English character, and with it a literal translation: of the second the original is not given, but merely the translation."

* See Medical Repository, vol. v. p. 93.

† Extending from Chichacottah to Phari. See Turner's Embassy to Thibet, pp. 20 and 178.

Excerpt First, from the Sacteya Grantha.

“ D'hénu stanya ma' suchiva naránáncha, ma suchicá,
“ Tajjalam báhu muláchcha sastránténa gríhítaván,
“ Báhu mulé cha sastráni ract'ótpatti caráni cha,
“ Tajjalam racta militam sphótaca jwara sambhavah.”

Translation of the above.

“ Take the fluid of the cow-pox on the udder of a cow, or on the arm
“ between the shoulder and the elbow of a human subject, on the *point* of
“ a lancet, and lance with it the arms between the shoulder and elbow
“ until the blood appears; then mixing the fluid with the blood, the fever
“ of the small-pox will be produced.”

Excerpt Second, the Sanscrit Text being omitted.

“ The small-pox produced from the udder of a cow will be of the same
“ gentle nature as the original disease, not attended by fever nor requiring
“ medicine. The diet may be according to the pleasure of the patient,
“ who may be inoculated once only, or two, three, four, five, or six
“ times. The pock, when perfect, should be of a good colour, filled with
“ a clear liquid, and surrounded with a circle of red. There will then be
“ no fear of the small-pox so long as life endures. When inoculated from
“ the udder of a cow, some will have a slight fever for one day, or two
“ or three days, and with this there will sometimes be a slight degree of
“ cold fit; the fever will also be attended by a round swelling in the arm-
“ pit, and the other symptoms of the small-pox, but all of a very mild
“ nature. There will be no danger, and the whole will disappear.

(Signed) “ CALVI VIRAMBAM.”

* “ Madras, January 2d, 1819.”

Respecting the authenticity of the above I shall say nothing, as I am unfortunately not a Sanscrit scholar. The book, however, from which the quotation is said to have been made by *Calvi Virambam*, is well known in Lower India, and might easily be examined. I have myself many doubts; and it is certainly a presumption against it, that the disease is no longer to be found on the cows of that country. For the absolute existence of the cow-pox on the cattle of Persia, I am happy to say there are somewhat more immediate and substantial proofs, as shown by a letter

written by W. Bruce, Esq., resident at Bushire, to W. Erskine, Esq., of Bombay, which appeared in the Asiatic Journal for June 1819; and to which my attention has been called by my friend, Dr. B. G. Babington, late of Madras.

Extract from the above-mentioned Letter.

“ When I was in Bombay, I mentioned to you that the cow-pox was
 “ well-known in Persia by the Illyauts, or wandering tribes. Since my
 “ return here (Bushire), I have made very particular inquiries on that
 “ subject, amongst several tribes who visit this place in the winter, to sell
 “ the produce of their flocks, such as carpets, rugs, butter, cheese, &c.
 “ Their flocks, during this time, are spread over the low country to graze.
 “ Every Illyaut whom I have spoken to on this head, of at least six or seven
 “ different tribes, has uniformly told me, that the people who are employed
 “ to milk the cattle caught a disease, which having once had they were
 “ afterwards perfectly safe from the small-pox; that this disorder was
 “ prevalent amongst the cows, and shewed itself particularly on the teats;
 “ but that it was still more common among, and more frequently caught
 “ from, the *sheep*. Now this is a circumstance that has never, I believe,
 “ before been known, and of the truth of which I have not the smallest
 “ doubt. To be sure on the subject, I made more particular inquiry of a
 “ very respectable farmer who resides in my neighbourhood, named Malilla
 “ (and whom Mr. Stephen Babington knows well). This man confirmed
 “ every word that the Illyauts had said, and that his own sheep had it.
 “ There may be one reason for the Illyauts saying that they caught the
 “ malady oftener from the sheep than the cows; which is, that most of
 “ their butter, ghee, and cheese, is made from sheeps’ milk: their black
 “ cattle yield very little, being more used for draught than anything else.”

Whatever may have been done formerly in India, vaccination, as it is now there practised, was first introduced into that country through the zealous exertions of European foreign physicians; a description of men whose humanity and philanthropy, thanks to heaven, flourished in spite of all the restrictions of the French revolution. The cow-pock fluid was taken from cows in *Lombardy* by Dr. Sacco, and despatched by D. de Carro from Vienna to Bagdad, from which place it went by different stages to Bussora and Bombay. The infected threads sent to the last-mentioned place failed; but others, transmitted to Trincomallee, produced the vaccine disease there

in August 1802.* Little time was lost in disseminating the affection over Ceylon; and it was from that island that the first active virus was conveyed, by the ship Hunter, to Madras, where the boon was neither coldly received nor languidly circulated; and if the Indian world now enjoys in an eminent degree the benefit of Dr. Jenner's labours, it must be confessed that it was in a great measure owing to the judicious steps taken by Earl Powis, then Lord Clive, who was at all times watchful how he could best promote the real interests of the country which he governed. On this occasion his Lordship was very ably aided by the exertions of Dr. James Anderson, at that time physician general, and whose immediate charge the new arrival consequently became; this gentleman, with all that cheerful and active benevolence which ever distinguished him, and rendered his long life one continued study how to avert the calamities, and alleviate the sufferings, which are incident to mankind, lost not a moment in adopting the wisest method, not only for preserving the valuable stranger in perfect purity, but for rendering every corner of our Asiatic dominions a partaker of the gift. Nor did he rest satisfied here; but with admirable foresight, transmitted the vaccine virus to every distant and eastern kingdom or province within the range of his extensive correspondence. In the first establishing of vaccination at Madras, Dr. Anderson permitted no man to sleep at his post, fully aware of the inestimable value of the newly-discovered preventive, as well as the difficulty with which it had been brought to so remote a land. Government, at that time occupied with serious political affairs, were reminded by him how necessary it was that superintendents and subordinate vaccinators should be instantly appointed in different districts, to keep alive and spread the welcome present which they had just received; and that, as in the introduction of all that is novel in India, much reluctance might naturally be expected, he pointed out in what manner exhortatory proclamations should be made, and how pecuniary rewards and encouragement could with the greatest advantage be bestowed on those who proved most successful in prevailing on the natives to adopt the cow-pox inoculation. In a word, I hesitate not to say, that had it not been for the example and assiduity of this enlightened and amiable man, cordially assisted and encouraged as he was by the supreme authority, the *variolæ vaccinae* would in all probability have long before this

* See Cordiner's Ceylon, vol. i. p. 255.

expired, amidst the hot winds, indolence, or other local obstacles peculiar to the regions of the torrid zone.

Vaccination, notwithstanding its many enemies* at one time in England, and the numerous real or pretended cases that have been brought forward against it, still preserves its original good name in *India*, pure as the breath of the animal from which it springs! Nor can I find, that when care has been taken to select the true disease with a perfectly transparent fluid; to take that fluid from the vesicle at the proper time† (not later than the seventh or eighth day); to avoid vaccinating persons who may have any breaking-out,‡ of whatever nature, on the skin; and by having invariably recourse to Mr. Bryce's test:§ when those points have been attended to, I repeat, I cannot find that vaccination has ever in that country, in any one instance, disappointed the hopes of the practitioner, or a mother's fondest wish. It is true, that, when the new disease was first brought to the *Coromandel* coast, there were a few blunders committed by inexperienced men, who mistook for the real malady some of those pustules which frequently appear on children in hot climates, and were astonished that they could not produce from them a disorder similar to what they had seen pictured in books or heard described; or, perhaps, they had trusted to the appearance of irregular vesicles,|| and hastily deemed them sufficient. But mistakes of this nature were soon rectified; and for many years past no doubts have been entertained, either as to the exact *facies* of the true complaint, or as to the non-existence of those evils which it was said occasionally to leave

* There are those who suppose that the preventive influence of the cow-pox fluid may perhaps only operate on the frame for a certain period or number of years, an evil which, if it does exist, might be obviated by repeating the operation of vaccination from time to time.

† By not attending to this caution, mischief is sometimes done by the production of a spurious disease; a fact clearly proved by Dr. Friese, of Breslaw. See *Med. Trans.*, vol. xiv. pages 233, &c.

‡ An inestimable caution given us by Jenner.

§ Which is, to vaccinate one arm from the other; when it will be found, that if the first operation has been effectual in bringing on the real constitutional disease, the second attempt will fail in producing the regular vesicle.—See Bryce on the Cow-Pox, page 207.

|| Dr. Willan describes three species of vesicles which have at times been mistaken for cow-pox, but which do not wholly secure the constitution from small-pox.—See his work on Vaccine Inoculation, page 39. A degenerated cow-pox was also noticed by Sir Gilbert Blane; in it the vesicle is amorphous, the fluid often of a straw-colour or purulent, and the areola absent, indistinct, or confused.—See his examination before the House of Commons.

behind. It has been affirmed, and I believe with truth, that the cow-pox virus is rendered milder* by passing through the human frame ; but this is what I could never put to the proof in India, from not being able to find the vesicle on the cattle : a fact which must lead to the caution of taking the virus from time to time from the cow, in order to preserve, as much as possible, its peculiar quality.

The small-pox supervening to regular vaccination has been called the modified disease,† and would appear to put on somewhat different appearances, owing to causes which it is not necessary here to enumerate. During my residence in India, after the introduction of the *variola vaccinae* into that country, which was not more than twelve years, I never heard of a single death occasioned by vaccination, nor by small-pox coming on after it ; nor do I think that, in the same period of time, I witnessed more than four well-marked cases of the modified disease. In three of these, the fever previous to the eruption was very slight, in the fourth it was more severe ; but in all it disappeared, or nearly so, on the coming out of the eruption ; that is to say, on the second or third day. The pustules, which did not in any of the cases amount to more than one hundred, were generally small, and contained a milk-like rather than a purulent fluid ; and, in place of continuing to the eleventh or twelfth day before bursting, they dried and became light brown crusts on the fourth day ; and there was this peculiarity in every instance, and I am not aware that it has been ever noticed in Europe, that there was a total want of that strong, singular, and rather loathsome smell, which constantly attends the common small-pox when the pustules are mature.

Another modified eruptive malady, which I have* oftener than once met with in India, I can consider in no other light than as the *hives* (*emphyesis globularis*) changed in its nature by vaccination, as the affection has nearly all the distinguishing symptoms of that disorder, as described by Dr. Heberden,‡ but in a milder degree. In the modified complaint I could never perceive any feverish symptoms whatever, with the exception of a little restlessness in the child. About the second day, the pustules (if pustules

* See Dr. Mason Good's Study of Medicine, vol. ii. page 596.

† For an excellent account of a varioloid epidemic which lately prevailed in Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland, with observations on the identity of Chicken-pox and modified Small-pox, see a work on the subject by Dr. John Thomson.

‡ See Medical Transactions, vol. i. article xxii.

they can be properly called, which contain a watery fluid) felt hardish under the finger, as if made of horn, and on the fourth day dried up; so differing from the regular *hives* of India as well as Europe, in which the eruption is known to appear on the fourth day with little abatement of the fever.

This notion of a modified *hives* (*emphyesis globularis*) in India may appear questionable, when it is taken into consideration that none of the varieties of water or chicken-pock (*emphyesis varicella*) have ever yet been given by inoculation: a fact ascertained by the distinguished author just quoted. Yet I am not aware to what other cause than previous vaccination could be ascribed the peculiar mildness of a disease (*hives*), well known to be in its natural character, sufficiently inflammatory; an affection which, though it cannot be excited by inoculation, is known to attack people but once in the course of their lives.

When I first adopted vaccination in the Carnatic, I found that even with the best *virus*, I often failed in producing the disease; till it struck me that if, previous to inserting the fluid, the arm was to be gently rubbed with a piece of dry flannel, so as to induce a slight degree of warmth, it might render the absorption more certain. This method I put in practice, and with success.

Considering that the vaccine vesicle cannot be, or has not yet been, found on the cows or sheep in India, the greatest care becomes necessary in that country to keep it up in proper purity in the human race; it may not, therefore, be of slight importance to be generally known, that it was discovered by the late much lamented Mr. Bryce of Edinburgh, that the crusts properly preserved from the air in a closely shut phial, preserve their active virtue for a great length of time, and may thus be transmitted to the most distant countries, and there produce the disease.

In propagating vaccination in our Eastern dominions, a good deal had been done previously to my leaving Madras in 1815; yet it is evident that still greater things might have been accomplished, had it not been for the perverse prejudices of the Hindus, which, however, I am happy to learn, are gradually giving way, as they become more and more satisfied of the value of the discovery. Annual reports of the progress in overcoming those obstacles were regularly made, in my time, to Dr. Jenner, by the different superintendents of vaccination of the three establishments; and, in fact, many praiseworthy measures taken, to aid that distinguished individual in completely establishing the virtues of this extraordinary preservative.

By an account published at Madras by Mr. A. Mackenzie, it would appear that, from the 1st September 1806 to the 1st September 1807, there had been vaccinated at the presidency of Fort St. George and the subordinate vaccine stations subject to that authority, 243,175 persons of different sexes, castes, and ages. Mr. Haughton, assistant surgeon of the coast artillery, who returned from China in May 1809, informed me that he found the cow-pox in high repute at *Macao*, under the zealous direction of Mr. A. Pearson, surgeon of the Honourable Company's factory at Canton who had written a short treatise on it, which had been admirably translated into Chinese by Sir George Staunton. By an official report communicated by Dr. Christie, superintendent of vaccination in Ceylon, I perceive that in that island, during the year 1808, no less than 26,207 individuals had undergone the operation and had the genuine disorder; which made, in all, vaccinated under that gentleman's care, since the introduction of it at Trincomallie in 1802, up to 1808, 103,036 persons of all ages. Subsequent and much more recent information* from Eastern countries, from India, Persia,† Java, China, Sumatra, and Manilla, give the most pleasing assurances of the success which invariably attends the adoption of the Jennerian disease in those distant regions; where a casual case of small-pox appearing after it has, from its great mildness, long ceased to alarm, and where the constant security which it affords against that horrific monster, *the variola in its malignant form*, have at length happily convinced millions, that if, from a powerful empire in the west came an inordinate thirst for dominion and the sword of the conqueror, thence also came the sympathizing heart and the healing hand.

Edinburgh, 20th December 1826.

* Up to the years 1822 and 1823.

† It would appear by Morier's second journey to Persia, that, about the year 1810, the king of that country actually caused *ferashes* to be placed, in order to prevent the women from taking their children to the surgeons to be vaccinated; and this was done at a time when, from the anxiety of the natives themselves to adopt the preventive, there was every reason to hope that it would become general in Tehran. In 1816, however, we learn by a communication from the English ambassador at Ispahan, that the presumptive heir to the throne and fifteen of his suite had been vaccinated, and that the blessing was making rapid strides throughout the Persian dominions.—See *Asiatic Journal* for October 1816, and September 1818.

IV.—*A Description of the Agricultural and Revenue Economy of the Village of Pudu-vayal, in that part of the Peninsula of India called the Carnatic.*
By JOHN HONGSON, Esq., M.R.A.S.

Read June 16, 1827.

IN submitting these notices to the attention of the Society, the object is to bring under its view the internal revenue economy of a Hindu village that has never been under the direct control of any European officer of the East-India Company, in order to exhibit a fair specimen of ancient usages in the south of India, and to shew with accuracy, the proportion of the produce of the soil customarily taken in kind, in latter times, as land revenue, the rights of the parties paying revenue, and those of the individual who, by grant from the sovereign, is entitled to collect that revenue.

These notices contain little that is new on the rights of the peasantry of the south-eastern part of the peninsula of India. The public records of the government of Madras from an early period, the report of the case tried in the Supreme Court at Madras in 1808, preserved in Sir Thomas Strange's notes, and the memoir prepared by the late Mr. F. W. Ellis, of the Madras civil service, all contain much interesting information on the landed tenures of the south of India. In this paper, therefore, I have merely endeavoured to render the subject intelligible to those who have not been in India, by divesting the description of all technical terms.

The village of Pudu-Vayal is situated about thirty miles north-west of Madras, in that portion of the Carnatic denominated the Company's Jagir. The village has defined boundaries. The lands, like those of some parishes in England, and in other parts of Europe, are held and cultivated in common, by the privileged members of the community. The other divisions of territory in India are of various denominations, according as Hindu or

Muhammedan terms are used to express them. The boundaries of all subdivisions of territory, including more than one village, are defined by the limits of the villages included in such subdivisions: they have not any boundaries of their own. The grant of a province including many villages would therefore be defined by a list of those enumerated in the grant.* The boundaries are supposed to have been fixed when the villages were first settled (or, as the natives express it, when the village was born), and they frequently contain large tracts of uncultivated land, and even of land overgrown with brushwood or forest-trees, called jungle.

The village in question was made over by grant, in the year 1784, to a servant of Sir Eyre Coote. The conditions of the grant were, that he should collect the revenue payable to the sovereign according to the custom of the village; that he should pay to the sovereign (the East-India Company) out of that revenue, a reserved sum annually amounting to three hundred pagodas, or about £120; that he should retain for his benefit the difference between £120 and the annual revenue he might by custom be entitled to receive from the cultivators of the soil. The grant neither specified the amount of the revenue which the grantee was entitled to collect, nor the rate at which he was to collect it. It gave him, by grant, the sovereign's rights; it left those rights to be ascertained by custom, and, in case of dispute respecting the rights of either party, left the question to be decided by such authorities as the sovereign had appointed.

The lands within the boundary of this village consist of two kinds: one of which is irrigated by means of the water of the monsoon rains, preserved during that season in a reservoir called a tank; the other is not capable of irrigation, but is rendered productive by rain as it casually falls. A tank, in the part of India to which this description refers, is composed of a bank of earth carried along the declivity of a plain, so as to collect and retain the water running from a higher level. The tank of this village is a small one, of which the bank is not more than three-eighths of a mile long.

The total extent of land within the boundaries of this village is *cánis* 548,† divided as follows:

* In this manner the grant of a Jagír, in 1765, to the Company by the Nabob of the Carnatic, was a grant of villages, specified in a list or schedule attached to the grant.

† A *cáni* is 57,600 square feet.

Land capable of irrigation, called in revenue language ' wet land'	Cánis 211 $\frac{1}{8}$
Land incapable of being irrigated, rendered productive by rain, called in revenue language ' dry grain land'.....	157 $\frac{2}{8}$
Total arable land, wet and dry	368 $\frac{3}{8}$
To this quantity must be added what has been diverted to other purposes, or in revenue language called ' alienated land,' viz.	
By custom	Cánis 26 $\frac{6}{8}$
By grant	11 $\frac{4}{8}$
	37 $\frac{11}{8}$
	405 $\frac{17}{8}$
Land entirely unproductive, as the bed of the tank, the burning ground, the treading-floor, &c. &c., including the site of the village	142 $\frac{2}{8}$
The total land in the village register is then...Cánis 548	

The particulars of the land, and its revenue appropriated by custom, are as follows :

Pagoda or Church Lands.

	Cánis.	Cánis.
For the benefit of the temple of Síva	1 $\frac{2}{8}$	
For the benefit of the temple of Vishnu	1	
	—	2 $\frac{2}{8}$

Village Corporation Lands.

For the benefit of the hereditary village occupants generally ...	1
-------------------------------------------------------------------	---

Village Corporation Office Lands.

For the registrar of the revenue and statistical accounts of the village	11 $\frac{4}{8}$
For the village watchman	9 $\frac{2}{8}$
For the village carpenter.....	1
For the village blacksmith	1

Appropriated by custom..... Cánis 26 $\frac{6}{8}$

The particulars of the appropriations by grant are as follows :

To Subramaniya Gurcál, a priest	Cánis $1\frac{6}{8}$	
To ten other Brahmins, all named, but unnecessary to specify in detail	$9\frac{4}{8}$	$11\frac{2}{8}$
Appropriated by custom		$26\frac{6}{8}$
Total cultivated land, of which the revenue has been appro- priated by custom or by grant.....	} Cánis $37\frac{1}{8}$	

The village occupants retain possession of and cultivate these $37\frac{1}{8}$ cá-nis, so that the grantees of these lands receive no more than the revenue which would have been payable by custom to the sovereign, supposing the land revenue had not been appropriated as described. The grantees have not possession of the land; and not one of the ten Brahmins alluded to as holding grants of land, resides in the village or cultivates the land of his grant. They send or go annually for the government revenue, which is paid to them in the same way as it would have been paid to the sovereign had no such transfer of his rights been made; but, with a view to keep on good terms with the cultivators of their grants, the grantees generally take less than the sovereign would take, that is, less than half the produce of the land. It is thus obviously advantageous to cultivators to cultivate the land of which the revenue has been assigned for the support of religious, municipal, or other institutions.

The revenue payable to the sovereign from this village is, by *custom*, a defined portion of the gross produce from all land cultivated, and not otherwise appropriated by grant or by custom. In seasons of drought there may be little or no revenue, even in grain. In seasons of abundant produce and low price, there may be a large grain revenue and a small money revenue. There is, then, a fluctuation of the amount of revenue, but no fluctuation in the rates of division between the cultivator and sovereign. Previously to a division of the produce of the land between the sovereign and the cultivators, a portion, defined by custom, is deducted for certain defined uses, such as the endowment of the district and village temples, fees of village officers, &c., amounting to about ten per cent. of the gross produce. The cultivators, who have the privilege of cultivating the lands to the exclusion of all other persons, are by custom entitled to retain $42\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the produce which remains after the deduction above referred to, and are bound to pay $57\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as revenue.

Deducted for the endowment of the district and village temples, and fees of village officers, slaves, and labourers, previously to the division of the produce between the cultivator and sovereign..... 10 per cent.

The cultivators retain $42\frac{1}{2}$ in every 90 of gross produce ... $38\frac{1}{2}$

Total retained out of the gross produce in this village, }	$48\frac{1}{2}$
for the benefit of the village occupants..... }	

Amount paid as revenue $51\frac{1}{2}$

100

In the produce of lands not irrigated, the cultivators of this village retain the same share as from the produce of irrigated lands, with the benefit of the usual deductions as detailed in the account of the produce of rice lands. The cultivators, not original settlers, and having no claim to permanent possession of the land, retain by custom a larger portion than the original settlers, both in the produce of wet and dry land. They retain $56\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the produce of both kinds of land after the customary deductions; but they take no share in the produce of the village corporation lands, do not cultivate any portion of the appropriated lands, and pay a fee of superiority to the original settlers in the village.

The cultivators, who relinquish by custom so large a portion of the produce of the land as revenue to the state, possess advantages, as cultivators of land and village occupants, not capable of being accurately estimated, but of considerable value to the possessors. They divide among themselves the produce of the land exempted from revenue, granted when (to use their emphatic expression) the village was born; they are entitled to levy a fee of superiority from all cultivators not descendants of the original settlers: they can, by custom, sell, mortgage, or give away their village rights: they retain all the straw of all the land cultivated: they have an exclusive right to pasture all the uncultivated lands within the village boundaries: each of them holds, by custom, a moderate-sized garden, free from demands for revenue: they pay no house or poll-tax: they have the labour of the carpenter, blacksmith, potter, washerman, watcher, barber, herdsman, distributor of water to the fields, priests, &c., free of expense, or for a trifling annual donation in cloth or money.

The reservoir for watering the fields must be kept in repair by the sovereign or by his representative. When the cultivators are impoverished

by bad seasons or loss of ploughing cattle by disease, custom obliges the sovereign, or his representative, to aid them with advances of money, to be repaid out of the crop of the ensuing year.

The privileges of the original settlers in this village are held, by custom, in four principal shares, and each principal share is subdivided into sixteen parts, making in all sixty-four shares.

By the custom of the village a principal share cannot be sold, because a principal share contains the property of many; but custom admits of the sale of a subdivision of a principal share under certain limitations, also defined by custom. The principal shares, *viz.* the four, are, or are supposed to have been, the shares fixed when the village was first settled. They have remained unaltered, if not for ages, at least for so long a period as tradition or history, or the memory of man reaches. The subdivisions of these principal shares are the portions held by the descendants of the first settlers, or by the purchasers of their rights.

The land in this village is cultivated with ploughs drawn by oxen, a pair to each plough. Part of the land is ploughed in a dry state and part in a wet state: part is sown broad-cast, and part is set with young rice plants, previously raised in beds, and transplanted into the prepared mud by the females of the families of the labourers and slaves. The irrigated land is divided into portions of a greater or less extent, according to the level of the surrounding land, and is environed with a bank of earth to retain the water. One plough is considered sufficient for the cultivation of from five to six *cánis* of ground during one season of cultivation. In this village a pair of strong bullocks for heavy wet-land work cost fourteen pagodas, or about £5.12s.; a less serviceable pair, about £4.; a still inferior pair may be had for about £2.15s., or £3. A pair of buffaloes would be still cheaper; but they are not in use except among the very poorest class of cultivators, as they do not work well in the heat of the sun.

From the poorness of the soil and large portion of the produce paid as revenue, agriculture was represented as not being a profitable pursuit in this village. Many of the cultivators are painters of chintz cloth, and some deal in grain. The produce of a plough worked with two oxen and one driver, is estimated in money at about £4.; and the cost and charges of supporting the slaves or labourers who perform field-work, replacing bullocks, &c., is estimated at from £3. to £3.10s. per plough. In an account delivered to me, and deposited in the Library of the Royal Asiatic

Society, the average annual expense of ten ploughs and their drivers is stated to be 100 $\frac{3}{4}$ pagodas, or £4. 3s. per plough.*

The plough-share is of iron, about fourteen inches long, one inch broad, and half an inch thick, fixed into a wooden share with clamps. Drill-ploughs are in use for dry land; and one seen in this village had three shares, and three bamboo tubes with a small wooden cup, into which the pipes or tubes were fixed: the cup is filled by the hand of the driver of the plough, or by a boy following the plough. The common plough is of so slight a construction, that one man can easily carry two or three on his shoulders to the fields. A harrow with wooden teeth is in use.

Field labour, when paid in money, which is, however, seldom the case, is paid for at the rate of eight shillings per month; or, at the highest, at ten shillings per month for an able-bodied man. Lads of fifteen or sixteen years of age are, however, quite competent to manage a plough.

When the season for cultivation arrives, the arable land of the village is allotted to the several shareholders, in a manner peculiar to villages where wet or rice cultivation predominates. This peculiar mode of allotment has, in all likelihood, arisen from the necessity of making a fair distribution among all the cultivators of the water collected in the tank; the land nearest to the source of supply being, in seasons of drought or a deficient supply of rain, of double the value of that situated at a distance, and beyond the reach of a regular supply of water. The allotment proceeds as follows:

The names of each lot and of each shareholder are written on pieces of the leaf of the palm tree, such as is used for village records, and the names of each division of land to be allotted are placed in a row. A child, selected for the purpose, draws by lot a leaf with the name of a principal shareholder, and places it under a number thus:

1.	2.	3.	4.
Tannappa.	Nina.	Narrappa.	Mallian.

It is thus settled, by chance or lottery, that Tannappa and his under-shareholders are entitled to cultivate the land of the principal share lotted under No. 1. Tannappa next proceeds to settle in the same way each under-shareholder's portion included in his principal share; and so on till the sixty-four shareholders receive each his allotment.

* This account includes the produce and value of about an acre of sugar-cane.

The lots are not drawn for all the land at once, but in subdivisions according to quality: for instance, for the division nearest the reservoir, as being less liable to the effects of drought, first; then for the next division, as being further removed from the reservoir; and then for the third, which perhaps receives an adequate supply of water once in two or three years only. It is thus apparent, that the object in drawing lots for the annual or periodical occupation of the land, is to secure to each person interested a proportion of each description of land, *viz.* of the best, the good, and the indifferent; in other words, of the best watered, second best, and so on. Each of these subdivisions of land has an appropriate name in the village register.

The agricultural labourers employed by the cultivators of this village are of three descriptions:—1st. Slaves,* transferred with the other privileges of the village occupants, when those privileges are sold or mortgaged; 2d. Bondsmen, who may be said to have mortgaged themselves, and who can redeem or work out their bondage; 3d. Hired labourers. The slaves, bond-labourers, and hired labourers, are remunerated or supported by allowances of grain and donations of cloth for clothing; their families have the benefit of gleanings and of the sweepings of the treading-floor.† They have small plots of ground for gardens, free from tax; pay no poll or house-tax; and have presents on marriages or births in their families, and on the new year. The females of their families earn something by beating the husk from the rice; by planting the young rice-plants during the season of sowing and planting; and by doing other labours in the village, rearing poultry, and carrying eggs, poultry, &c. for sale. There did not appear to be much difference in the treatment experienced by the agricultural slaves and that received by agricultural free labourers, except that the latter were paid a larger portion of their remuneration in money, and found themselves in clothes.

* I was shewn in this village a deed of gift of a female, of the agricultural class of slaves, and of her family, dated 131 years ago, written on a palm-leaf of three leaves, curiously and naturally joined, as indicating the sale of three persons, being for a woman and two children; also two other deeds relating to slaves; of these I was promised copies, but did not receive them. An essay on agricultural slavery in the East-Indies will, I trust, be read to the Society at no distant period by one of its members; and authentic information on this subject may be looked for from India.

† All the grain is trodden out of the straw by driving cattle over it, tied together by the neck.

Having thus exhibited the interests of the cultivators in this village, I proceed to detail the interests of the grantee. A reference to the statement in the Appendix will shew, that in the year 1783, the year preceding the grant of the village to the servant of Sir Eyre Coote, a year of war and drought in the Carnatic, the revenue of the sovereign, as collected in grain at the rate of $57\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the produce, after a deduction of 10 per cent., and converted into money by the public servants of the sovereign, amounted to two hundred and eighty-two pagodas. Had the grantee been in possession that year, and had he paid three hundred pagodas as reserved revenue, he would have lost eighteen pagodas, and the expenses of collection also. The largest profit exhibited in the statement is in the twenty-first year of possession by the grantee. In that year, although the extent of land cultivated was not above the average quantity, and the grain produced was actually less than that of some of the preceding years, yet the gross revenue in money realized by the grantee amounted to Star pagodas 1,042

The grantee paid a reserved revenue of	327
His gross profit was	715
His expenses of collection were	88
His net profit was	Star pagodas 627

The very next year but one exhibits another result, *viz.* an almost entire defalcation of cultivation, owing to a great drought ; but an excessively high price, giving great value to a very small produce.

The gross revenue under these circumstances amounted to Star pags.	215
Payment of the reserved revenue	327
Loss.....	112
To which add charges of management and collection for that year ...	55
Total Loss	167

The cultivators must equally have experienced the vicissitudes of the seasons ; but paying the dues of the grantee in kind, the amount of these dues was in proportion to the produce, and the real loss to the cultivators only that of their labour and seed.

In describing the respective beneficial interests in this village, I have avoided the use of technical terms. I have not called the village occupants

proprietors of the soil, landholders, freeholders, copyholders, zemindars, mīrasidars, or ryots. The name is of little import, if the benefits they claim exist and are respected. By the grantee they had been respected from A.D. 1784 to 1817, the latter being the year in which these memoranda were taken by me and a friend in the village, in the presence of all the parties interested. To the grantee's interests I have not given a name; he is, obviously, an intermediate agent between the sovereign and the village occupants, with a *permanent* and extensively beneficial interest: an interest liable, however, as shewn above, to much fluctuation. The interest is derived from the sovereign by the relinquishment of revenue, and not from the occupation of land by the grantee; from ousting the village occupants, or from any encroachment on their rights. The grantee does not possess an acre of land in the village, and has not a single plough of his own; yet it is manifest, if custom permitted him to oust the hereditary occupants, and to employ hired labourers or slaves in their stead, he could in one year increase his income twenty-five per cent. or more, as many of the second class of cultivators will engage to cultivate land, find labour, oxen, and seed, on the condition of retaining something less than one-third of the gross produce. The extent of the revenue relinquished to create the grantee's beneficial interest is shewn to have been, in a good year, star pagodas 627, out of a total revenue of star pagodas 1,042, being more than sixty per cent. In a bad year it is shewn that the reserved revenue paid to the sovereign exceeded the whole amount collected as revenue from the cultivators by 167 star pagodas.

The beneficial interests in this village are then found to be divided into three classes:

- 1st. The cultivators of the soil, being the hereditary village occupants.
- 2d. The grantee, holding the village by grant from the sovereign, and collecting the sovereign's revenue by virtue of his grant.
- 3d. The sovereign, who receives a reserved revenue to be paid by the grantee.

The details exhibit the following facts:

1st. The undisturbed possession, by the ancestors of the present village occupants and by themselves, from time immemorial, of the lands of the village as defined by known boundaries, on conditions fixed by custom.

2dly. The uninterrupted payment by the cultivator of a revenue in grain from time immemorial, or without doubt during the last one hundred years, the rates of payment remaining always the same.

3dly. The receipt of a diminished revenue by the sovereign, owing to an

appropriation by grant to the servant of the late Sir Eyre Coote, of a portion of what otherwise would have been collected as revenue by the fiscal officers of the sovereign.

4thly. Evidence of the existence of an intermediate agent between the cultivators and payers of revenue and the sovereign as receiver, without injury to the rights of the cultivators.

I conclude these observations with stating, that several thousand villages now under the Madras presidency have, at various times, been transferred in a similar manner, by Hindu, Muhammedan, and British rulers in the East, either on condition of services to be rendered, in reward for past services, or as endowments for charitable or religious institutions; some with a reserved revenue, and others without such reserve, or entirely exempt from the payment of revenue; and that many public native servants of governors, collectors, public boards, and also many distinguished native officers of the Indian army, Muhammedan as well as Hindu, continue to receive such grants. By these grants Muhammedans become the permanent local superiors over Hindus, Sudras the superiors over Brahmans, without such grants being considered as an infringement of any previously existing rights. The grantees receive by grant the rights of the sovereign only; that is, the sovereign's land revenue, and that revenue to be increased only as cultivation increases, and not by encroachment on the rights of the cultivators. It is also a curious fact, that many Hindu temples are endowed both with the beneficial interests of the cultivators by gift, and with the sovereign's revenue by grant. The idol of the temple is thus made proprietor of both the superior and inferior rights; and the land so obtained is cultivated by means of slaves or hired labourers, under the superintendence of the priests of the temple so endowed, or let out to under-tenants.

I have deposited in the library of the Society, for the use of those who may be desirous of further information upon this subject, a complete account for the years A.D. 1741 and 1742, in the greatest detail, of a very large village (yielding, in a favourable season, a revenue of from three to four thousand pounds), in which the whole revenue and statistical economy of the village is exhibited, with the names of each cultivator, the amount of the grain and money revenue, the portion of the produce of the land retained by the cultivator, the portion taken by the sovereign, and the prices at which the reserved grain was sold. I have also deposited in the library a large MS. collection of public and private documents relating to landed tenures in Southern India.

V. *Extracts from the Peking Gazettes, translated by JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq.,
M.R.A.S.*

Read December 1, 1827.

I. *Concerning Cases of Homicide.*

Leaou-tun-hing, inspector-general of *Keang-nan* province, presents an address to point out the expediency of early inquests in cases of homicide.

Amidst the great number and variety of imprisonments on criminal accusations, the most important are those which relate to the privation of life. Entering into a conspiracy to kill; killing with malicious intention; killing in an affray; causing death by driving a person to desperation; and killing by culpable negligence, constitute the *real* or proper cases. The cases of *false* imprisonment for homicide are where wounds are inflicted after death, to be made the grounds of a false accusation; and where the body is consumed or made away with for the same purpose. In all cases the most speedy investigation is of great importance, since from the nature of the wounds or hurts much evidence may be gathered with respect to the intention or disposition of the person that inflicted them; and from their old or new appearance, an inference may be drawn regarding the truth or falsehood of the accusation. Whenever the district magistrates met with a case of homicide, did they, in every instance, proceed without delay to the inquest of the body, while the wounds or hurts were yet fresh and unchanged, they might with more ease and certainty elicit the truth; at the same time that the guilty persons, being confronted at once with the magistrate before they had time to collect themselves, would be more likely, through fright, to betray their offence. Hence it may be deduced, that early inquests are the best key to the elucidation of homicides. But the magistrates of districts, bearing on their shoulders the responsibility attached to such cases, appear always desirous to suppress them. As soon as a report or accusation is made, they purposely contrive delays, instead of proceeding immediately in person to the inquest, or they

perhaps send a clerk into the town or village to compel the guilty person, by the agency of money, to make it up with the relations of the deceased, where it happens that these are very poor and needy. Again, the clerks will sometimes frighten the deceased's relations into quiet submission, which enables the magistrate to suppress the trial.* When it happens that the relations will not consent to an accommodation, and the magistrates are left without a choice, they then proceed to an inquest, after many days' delay; and when it happens that the weather is hot, the body becomes so changed as to admit of no true inferences with respect to the cause of death. Again, when the investigation is deferred, the criminal entertains hopes of escape: he pleads guilty to a minor offence to escape the penalties of a heavier; he bribes the official scrutineers (*Woo-tso*) to slur over the worst appearances of the body; or he buys over the witnesses to support his own statement. Those who conduct the trial are deceived by him, and come to a wrong decision; while the relations of the deceased, wearied with vain endeavours, present an accusation to the higher powers, and a commission is sent to retry the case: but by this time there is little left of the body but the bones, and when these are subjected to the prescribed test by boiling, the hurts which extended to the bones may be ascertained; but the others, as those which might be caused by strangling or poison, it is impossible to prove. Thus, perhaps, the matter is protracted to a whole year, and at

* One very particular feature of the Chinese law of homicide (and certainly a very improper one) is, that it seems instituted, not more for the satisfaction of public justice or the prevention of crime, than for the gratification of private revenge; nay it even goes so far, in some particular cases, as to encourage and justify a principle so subversive of the welfare of society, by awarding a very mitigated punishment to the *deliberate murder* of any person, in revenge for the death of a father or mother, and even of some inferior relations (*Leu-Lee*, sect. cccxxiii, page 352, of Sir G. T. Staunton's *Penal Code of China*). In most Chinese trials for homicide, it is evident that the relations are the *real prosecutors*: although among us it is treated purely as an offence against the public. To this antiquated error in legislation, the considering murder as a *private wrong*, and the possibility of compromising so great an offence against society by a bribe to the relations of the deceased, may be attributed many of the evils complained of in the above paper. We may learn from this, and indeed from the actual experience of the past, to recognize the spirit in which cases of homicide are prosecuted against Europeans at Canton. In nearly every instance where the point has been vehemently or obstinately urged, the *relations* have spurred on the local government by threats of an appeal to Peking if their revenge remained unsatisfied; and we may rest assured, that an adequate compromise in money, if offered in time, would almost always be successful, though the policy and propriety of such a measure in many cases might very fairly be questioned.

length it becomes a very serious case. If the cause of this be sought, it will be found to consist in "the neglect of an early inquest." Thus, in the instance of the trial at *Tě-tsing Hëen** in *Chě-keang* province, where the woman *Seu-ne-she* was found to have strangled the woman *Seu-tsae-she*, had the *Che-Hëen* proceeded immediately to the inquest, the truth might have been elicited at once, without the necessity of repeated trials.

The object of this address is to intreat your Majesty to command the viceroy and governor of every province to provide for a speedy inquest in every case of homicide; and if there is any attempt to delay or suppress matters on the part of the magistrates, to recommend their immediate dismissal. Those magistrates will thus be put upon their guard for the future; bad practices will be restrained, and imprisonments on accusations of homicide diminished in number.

II. *Scarcity of Grain in Füh-këen province to be supplied from Chě-keang, by Sea.*

SUN-URH-CIUN (viceroy of *Füh-këen* and *Chě-keang*) has recommended a temporary relaxation of the restrictions on the coasting trade, and the holding out of encouragement to merchants to import grain from *Chě-keang* by sea.† In the past year, the harvest of rice in *Füh-këen* province has been so bad as to raise the price of grain to an unusual height. The said viceroy states that the harvest in *Chě-keang* has been comparatively plentiful, and the coasting navigation affords such facilities for transmission, that he recommends some relaxation of the restrictions upon it, as an encouragement to merchants to supply the wants of the people. Let this be done, according to his recommendation, and let the treasurer of *Füh-këen* hold out encouragement to the merchants of *Füh-chow-foo*‡ (the capital) and its dependen-

* When the *Gan-cha-sze*, or judge, strangled himself in a fit of perplexity and despair.

† It being the policy of the Chinese government to restrict the intercourse of one province with another, as well as with the most distant parts of the empire, almost entirely to inland navigation, a reference to the map will immediately shew that the inland trade between *Füh-këen* and *Chě-Keang* is impeded by lofty mountains, where the rivers take their source, and where consequently they are unnavigable. The plenty of the one province, therefore, in such a bulky commodity as grain, cannot easily supply the scarcity of the other, except by sea.

‡ Recommended in Mr. Ball's pamphlet as the best seat of European trade.

cies, to proceed to *Chě-keang* with proper licenses, and import grain by sea. Let CHING-HAN-CHANG (governor of *Chě-keang*) make known to the merchants of his province, that, if they wish to transmit grain to *Füh-kěen*, they may receive permits from the treasurer for that purpose. Let them be allowed, after proper inspection, to proceed through the several sea-ports, without detention or hindrance. When the price of grain in *Füh-kěen* shall have sunk to its usual level, let the customary restrictions be resumed. The viceroy must see that the above is carried properly into effect, and that subsistence for the people is immediately and fully supplied.

Khin-tsze.

VI. *Geographical Notice of the Frontiers of the Burmese and Chinese Empires, with the Copy of a Chinese Map.* By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., M.R.A.S.

Read December 15, 1827.

THE great interest which now attaches to the geography of the Burmese empire and to its relations with the Chinese, seems to call for as much information as can by any means be procured on these subjects from different quarters. In the Chinese library of the East-India Company at Canton is a MS. map, chiefly compiled from the labours of the missionaries; and as its extreme accuracy can be vouched for with respect to those parts of the empire through which Lord Amherst's embassy passed, it is entitled to a degree of credit, which is not hastily to be awarded to Chinese maps in general. An exact copy has been taken from this map of the western part of *Yun-nan* province. Our latest geographical knowledge of the Burmese country is contained in a map recently published at Calcutta, with the permission of the Bengal government; and as that portion which relates to the Chinese frontier was likely to have been obtained from Burmese sources, it may be worth while to compare it with the Chinese map. As far as relates to the names of places, the Chinese character is the only sure guide *within their own territory*. Little accuracy can be expected from, or stress laid on, the names written by one set of strangers, the English, and obtained by them through the mouths, or the writing, of another set of strangers, the Burmese. Notwithstanding this difficulty, however, it will perhaps be found that a considerable degree of correspondence exists between the two maps.

The great river 洛江 *Loo-keang* forms, according to both maps, the boundary of the Chinese empire from lat. 27° to 26° , where it enters *Yun-nan* province, and issuing from it again about lat. 24° , proceeds nearly due south. Serving, during a considerable part of its course, as the boundary

line of Ava and Siam, it empties itself into the sea below Martaban, after performing a course of more than 660 geographical miles. The map of the Chinese, however, does not extend in any part beyond their own frontier.

In the Chinese map, immediately on the border of *Yun-nan*, and just below 25° lat., we find a place called 盛達 *Tsan-tā*, the *Santa* of the English map. This is distinguished by Du Halde with the title of 府 *Foo*, or city of the first order: while in the MS. map it is merely put down as a 土司 *Too-sze*, and there is no chief city to the westward of 永昌府 *Yung-chang-Foo*. On the outskirts of the Chinese empire, 交界 *Keaou-keae* ("where the frontiers blend,") towards the west, are a number of towns or stations called by them 土司 *Too-sze*, where the original natives of the country are more or less independent, and where there is in fact a kind of divided authority, each party being immediately subject to its own chiefs. This is particularly the case of the *Meaou-tsze* and *Lo-los*. The Chinese map mentions *Tsan-tā*, or *Santa*, as one of these stations, and *not* as a chief town; and Du Halde himself observes of it: "Cette dernière ville, qui confine avec le royaume d'Ava, est proprement une ville de guerre, pour servir de defense à cette frontière:" which description does not correspond with what the Chinese call a *Foo*.

The 檳榔江 *Pin-lang-Keang* of the Chinese map, flowing into the Burmese territory immediately below *Tsan-tā*, is called in our map *Pan-mo-keang*, and represented as united with the Irawadi at *Bhan-mo*, or *Pan-mo*; while the 龍川江 *Lung-chuen-Keang*, a little below to the southward, is named *Shueli Myeet*, and also flows into the Irawadi. The relative position of these two rivers is pretty nearly the same in both maps, but there is considerable disagreement in the position of the towns or stations on their borders; and on this subject it is probable that the Chinese map is best entitled to credit of the two. In the latter, advancing from the frontier inwards, on the *Lung-chuen* river, we see 猛卯 *Meng-maou*, or *Meng-mo*, 龍川 *Lung-chuen*, 南甸 *Nan-tëen*, and 騰越 *Teng-yuě*, the three former marked as *Too-sze*, and the last as a *Chow*, or town of the second order. In the English map, however, the first station is *Lung-chuen* (improperly written *Fou-se*, instead of *Too-sze*); the second *Nan-*

taen (*Nan-t'een*), and the third *Tong-ye-chew* (*Teng-yuě-chow*), constituting the three first stages on the route from Ava towards *Yun-nan* city: and these three stations are placed on the *northern* stream, corresponding with the *Pin-lang-Keang*, instead of that which answers to the *Lung-chuen-Keang* of the Chinese map, to the southward. Now I should think, from the name of the first of these, *Lung-chuen*, that it is properly placed in the MS. map on *Lung-chuen* river, and consequently the two others; and that the route towards *Yun-nan*, in fact, lies on the southern stream instead of the northern. Were this found to be the fact, *Lung-chuen-Keang* would also be the real *Bhan-mo* or *Pan-mo-Keang*. This seems to be confirmed by the Chinese map. Below *Lung-chuen* station towards Ava, we find immediately on the border *Meng-maou*, or as it is pronounced in the south, *Meng-mo*, which I think is very likely to be intended for *Bhan-mo* or *Pan-mo*, called *Bamoo* by Symes, and stated by him to be the chief point of commercial intercourse between the two countries. The spirit of Chinese encroachment might be disposed to include this in their own map, with some violation of its real locality.

With respect to the route laid down in the English map, from *Bhan-mo* through *Yung-chang-Foo* and *Ta-le-Foo*, towards *Yun-nan* city, it is not likely that the natives of Ava are frequently allowed to enter so far into the Chinese territory. This is more probably the track of the merchants and emissaries of the latter, in their commercial speculations towards the frontier. Symes states, that the Chinese envoys, whom he found at *Amerapura*, were, as far he could ascertain, merely a provincial deputation, and not imperial ambassadors from Peking. This indeed is most likely, being in unison with the general maxims of Chinese foreign policy. They say, "attach no value to what is foreign, and strangers will resort to you."

It is deserving of notice, that *Mancheegee* is mentioned by Symes as the Burmese name for *Yun-nan*; and that *Mangee* is the name given by Marco Polo to the southern part of China. The northern he calls Cathay.

The country which forms the western part of *Yun-nan* province is allowed to be mountainous, wild, and thinly peopled; and I understand from Père L'Amiot, who has resided more than thirty years at Peking, that it is considered by the Chinese as unhealthy. It was his fortune to fall in with a Tartar officer who had served in the army sent against the Burmese empire in 1767, and stated by Symes to have amounted to fifty thousand men, of which army very few individuals escaped back to their own country. The

total failure of this great enterprize was attributed by the said Tartar officer to the unhealthiness of the climate : but when a due allowance has been made for the influence of national feeling and Chinese want of candour, a considerable portion of their disasters may be referred to the prowess of the invaded enemy.

The stream, called in the MS. map 漫路河 *Man-loo-Ho*, seems to be the commencement of the great river of Siam, which reaches the sea at Bangkok.

The 九龍江 *Keu-lung-Keang*, or river of the nine dragons, which after collecting a number of tributary streams in *Yun-nan* province, traverses an immense expanse, and finally empties itself into the sea at the southern extremity of Cambodia, does not yield to the *Yang-tsze-Keang* itself in the length of its course, and may be classed among the principal rivers of our globe.

Père L'Amiot, at my particular request, obligingly supplied me with some detached notes relating to *Yun-nan* province ; and I have his permission to subjoin a selection from them :

“ La province de *Yun-nan* est régie par un *Tsung-too*, ou viceroy, qui gouverne aussi la province de *Kwei-chow*. Il y a de plus, un gouverneur particulier, appelé *Seun-foo*.....Terres cultivées du peuple 83,603 *tsing* ;* fermes du gouvernement 9,288 *tsing* ; terres d'étrangers non réputés Chinois, 824 *tuon* : j'ignore en quoi consiste cette portion de terre ; *tuon* est une expression générale, indéterminée dans l'usage ordinaire, mais déterminée pour le lieu même.....Cette province n'a été soumise aux Chinois que dans les derniers tems, après la résistance la plus opiniâtre, et des efforts prodigieux. L'intempérie du climat si funeste aux Chinois, la difficulté de pénétrer dans ces affreuses montagnes, et peut-être aussi le caractère des habitans ont produit une lutte longue et terrible. On cite le nom et les hauts faits de ceux qui ont le plus contribué à surmonter ces obstacles. On en voit qui s'appliquent à soulager le peuple, le formant à la doctrine, mœurs, usages, et arts des Chinois ; perfectionnant l'agriculture, reformant les mœurs, dont le débordement étoit affreux.....Les troubles continuent sous les premiers règnes de la dynastie actuelle, et sont fortement comprimés ; depuis un certain temps on y voit les lois en vigueur, et la paix

* Nine hundred *mow*, or Chinese acres, constitute a *tsing*.

solidement établie.....La resistance que les naturels opposent à la domination Chinoise est toujours appelée revolte, parceque tous les peuples sont de plein droit soumis au fils de ciel, père et mère de l'univers.....La ville de *Pou-eul* (*Poo-urh-Foo*, see map), a quatre lee de circuit. La population n'est pas connue, parcequ'elle est composée en partie des naturels du pays. La montagne nommée *Pou-eul* est renommée pour une espèce de thé, qui est portée à Pekin, et offerte à l'Empereur en boules, ou en tablettes qui sont des extraits de ce même thé : à Pekin on le procure facilement.....Le district de *Yung-tchang-fou* (*Yung-chang-Foo* in the map) renferme une ville et district du 2^e ordre, une du 3^e ordre, et quelques petits districts séparés, qui paroissent habités par les naturels du pays. Il est souvent parlé des combats terribles que les naturels ont soutenus contre les Chinois ; il leur reste encore des lieux de refuge que les Chinois respectent.On tire des rivières de l'ambre, du corail, des perles. Ces rivières sont en grande nombre : une d'elles (probably meaning the *Loo-Keang*) communique avec la mer au midi.....Les mandarinats de quelques districts sont héréditaires parmi les habitans du pays.....On parle de diverses peuples situées à la distance de 20 et 30 journées sud-ouest de *Yun-nan-Foo*. On dit que c'est l'ancienne patrie des naturels de *Yun-nan*. Ils reconnoissent l'empereur ; lui payent une redevance annuelle ; leur chef est choisi parmi les descendans d'une même famille. Ils ont une mine d'orD'jà sous les *Han* les Chinois avoient des colonies dans la province de *Yun-nan*, mais ils n'en ont été paisibles possesseurs que dans ces derniers temps.....il est parlé parfois de faits et de monumens anciens ; mais ils ne se rattachent pas à l'histoire : ce sont probablement des traditions populaires.....Quant aux naturels, on voit que ce sont diverses peuplades de différentes races. Ils sont peu connus, peut-être ne sont-ils pas sans intérêt. Pendant bien des siècles ils se sont vigoureusement défendu contre les Chinois. Peut-être sont ils encore en force, quoiqu'ils ne se battent plus, ou rarement.....On sait que le *Yun-nan* est très-riche en mines ; et que le gouvernement en tire grand partie."

VII. *An Autobiographical Memoir of the early Life of NANA FARNEVIS.*
Translated from the original Mahratta, by Lieutenant-Colonel JOHN
BRIGGS, M.R.A.S., late Resident at the Court of Satara.

Read April 19, 1828.

THIS piece of biography may truly be considered one of the most remarkable productions of oriental literature. *

Nana Farnevis became at a very early period the bosom friend of his sovereign Madhu Rao, entitled the Great. This young prince succeeded his father in the year 1761, shortly after the fatal battle of Paniput, which seemed to threaten the downfall of the Mahratta power in Hindustan. He was then only in his seventeenth year, and Nana but nineteen. The latter had been hitherto brought up to the study of the *Védas* and *Sástras*, but had as yet engaged little in the duties of a public office, which his father had filled till Nana was fifteen, and which was now occupied by his uncle Babu Rao. The office to which I have alluded was hereditary, and had been held for three generations by Nana's family. It was that of *Farnevis* or *Fard-nevis* (literally, record-writer), but its duty was more especially to keep the accounts of the Peshwa's public receipts and disbursements. A situation, which brought those who filled it so constantly in contact with the Peshwa, was favourable to the development of those qualities which the youthful prince Madhu Rao discovered in his juvenile secretary. An attachment grew up between them, terminating only in the Peshwa's death, an event which occurred in 1774, at the early age of twenty-eight.

The part which Nana Farnevis took in the Poona government subsequent to that period, rendered him the chief director of all its political movements till the death of Madhu Rao the Second, which happened in 1797. From that period he was engaged in contending with the late Peshwa Baji Rao for that authority which he was unwilling to relinquish, but which he failed to attain. In March 1800 Nana Farnevis died, after having retired from public business, leaving behind him the reputation of being one of the greatest men of his time and country.

Accidentally placed in communication with many of his contemporaries, and interested in obtaining every information regarding this celebrated personage, I procured several narratives of the events which occurred under the eyes of some of my native friends to be written for me by them; and in the course of my inquiries, I was enabled to gain access to his private papers, to the number of nine thousand. Among these were several hundred written in Nana's own hand, which cannot easily be mistaken. After many copious selections of the most interesting, I translated many of these documents, and brought them with me to this country.

In the course of these investigations a confidential clerk of the family brought me the curious relic, the translation of which is presented to the Society. The paper in question is a life of Nana in his own hand-writing, commencing with his birth, and coming down only to the period when his patron, Madhu Rao the Great, ascended the throne, and when Nana was himself only nineteen years of age.

Nana's official career is a subject of public record and history, but his private life at any stage must naturally excite the utmost interest. That he should have written his life at all is certainly a very remarkable circumstance; but the identity of his hand-writing, which I took pains not only to scrutinize myself, as far as I was able, but which I submitted to the inspection and examination of a vast number of disinterested persons, was never for a moment doubted by them.

Having endeavoured to establish this fact, I shall proceed at once to the translation, which begins thus :

“ Let me consider what is the semblance of the face of God. It is the
 “ emblem of truth, full of animation, and resplendent with its own efful-
 “ gence. God passes his existence in watchfulness, in sleep, and in contem-
 “ plation. His watchfulness is apparent throughout all animated nature;
 “ his contemplation is displayed in the light of day; his sleep is typified in
 “ the stillness of night. He, to whom we attribute these qualities, is THE
 “ ONLY ONE—THE SPIRIT.

“ It is he, who in the plenitude of his power displays himself in every
 “ thing. He is every where present at the same moment, moving without
 “ feet, seeing without eyes, touching without hands, hearing without ears,
 “ pervading all space.

“ If it be asked from what are we to conclude the Great Spirit pervades
 “ all space, and that it is a single and sole spirit? I reply, that we derive

“ this knowledge from the conviction of our reason, and from an innate
“ consciousness arising out of sympathy. Thus how often does it occur,
“ when men assemble, though sitting at a distance from each other, that
“ they communicate their thoughts by a look or a gesture, just as a mirror
“ reflects an image.

“ Now it is evident, that if the spirit in those bodies were not the same
“ and identified, this union of sentiment could not occur.

“ The soul of man partakes of the nature of the spirit of God, and to
“ every human being is allotted a portion of its glory; but, regardless and
“ unmindful of this truth, man relinquishes the contemplation of the
“ greatness of God, and pursues what he considers the apparent advantage
“ which presents itself to him in this world of misery. Such, however, is
“ consistent with human nature. It is *māyā* (illusion or desire) with which
“ he is filled, and which prompts him to action. *Mdyā* can neither be
“ considered substantial, nor positively illusory, no more than the face of
“ God can be seen or accurately described. *Mdyā* influences the
“ conduct of man in three ways: it leads him sometimes to do good,
“ sometimes to be selfish, and sometimes to be vicious, but its prevailing
“ tendency is to engender pride. The spirit produced the firmament of
“ heaven, after which air, light, water and earth, were made. These five
“ elements we designate by the term *Mahābhūt*.

“ In the midst of these is seated the soul, endued with reason, and
“ surrounded by the five *mahdbhūts*, or elements. The soul is eternal; it is
“ unconnected with the perishable body wherein it is placed, but from
“ which it is distinct. The human frame is material; it is compounded of
“ the five elements, and is thus rendered capable of partaking of worldly
“ pleasure and of pain. It is calculated merely to receive sensual im-
“ pressions. It is begotten in shame; it is engendered, and becomes
“ matured in labour; and is liable to destruction, even before it is brought
“ into existence. It is condemned to a mortification of nine months in the
“ womb, is eventually born in pain, and enters a world full of misery and
“ affliction. For a lengthened period it is incapable of assisting itself, or
“ of asking relief: but gradually acquiring size by imbibing aliment, the
“ bones and the muscles acquire strength, the blood is nourished, and in
“ the end the infant-form assumes the shape of man.

“ Of such materials then am I formed. Born* in the depths of ignorance,

* On Friday, 24th of February 1742, at 10 o'clock p. m.

“ and involved in utter darkness. But, owing to certain advantages acquired
 “ in some former state, I was early disposed to worship the Deity. This
 “ tendency displayed itself when I was yet a child, at which time I was in
 “ the habit of forming lumps of clay into the shapes which are commonly
 “ put up in the temples, and with which I used to play and perform the
 “ sacrificial rites. Not content with these, I often stole the household
 “ images of the family, and carried them away to some secret place, where
 “ I might go through the forms of our religious ceremonies undisturbed.
 “ For these petty-thefts I frequently suffered punishment at my mother’s
 “ hands. Both my parents were extremely desirous that I should early
 “ acquire knowledge, and did not fail to urge me to study: but my own
 “ stubbornness provoked me to resist their advice, and to be sulky whenever
 “ spoken to on the subject; so much so that I always wished some evil
 “ might happen to them.

“ I was not contracted in marriage till I was ten years of age (1752); and
 “ at the age of eleven or twelve I began to feel the influence of the passions:
 “ which, together with the bad society into which I accidentally fell at this
 “ period, gave me vicious propensities. About this time I fell acciden-
 “ tally from my horse, and was insensible for two days: but by the interven-
 “ tion of Providence I recovered.

“ My father died when I had attained my fifteenth year (1757), and God
 “ permitted me to be present to perform his funeral obsequies. After which,
 “ perceiving his Highness the Peshwa disposed to be kind to me, from his
 “ treating me as his own child, I accompanied him to the field of battle, and
 “ went as far as Seringapatam. After my return my marriage was consummated.
 “ I found, however, my propensity to the society of loose females extremely
 “ difficult to control; and I always reflected with shame and remorse on
 “ my own conduct, when I remembered that my worthy grandfather was a
 “ man as celebrated for his morality and virtue, as for his charity and
 “ religion, and that all my father’s relatives were highly pious men. With
 “ these reflections I made up my mind to believe that I derived my evil
 “ propensities from my mother’s side, but this did not correct the bent of
 “ my inclination.

“ I however resolved to go to Toka on the Godaveri, and by a strict
 “ attention to devotion and to the service of the temple, obtain grace to
 “ overcome my evil dispositions. I remained there for some time, till at
 “ length BHAO SAHIB (the Peshwa’s brother) marched with an army into

“ Hindustan. (Oct. 2, 1759). I accompanied him, taking with me my mother
“ and my wife, for the purpose principally of making pilgrimages to the holy
“ cities of Benares, Prayág (Allahabad), and Gaya, and of becoming purified
“ in the waters of the Ganges. As my frame was at this period afflicted with
“ a disease which reduced my strength and animal spirits, I found my mind
“ more composed and fitted for devotion than when I was in rude health.
“ My whole life and soul were now wrapt up in veneration for religion and
“ respect for my mother, who greatly encouraged my religious feelings.

“ After crossing the Nerbudda I fell sick, and was afflicted with dysen-
“ tery to such a degree that I could not rise. His Highness БНАО САНИВ,
“ out of his great consideration, ordered the army to halt for some days,
“ till I got better. We reached the Chumbul at the period of an eclipse,
“ and eventually arrived on the Jumna at the Gow Ghaut. We then pro-
“ ceeded to Mathura, where having performed the religious ceremonies
“ enjoined at the temples, we went to *Vrindávan* (Binderabun). Here I
“ bathed in the very pool where the divine CRISHNA crushed the serpent
“ *Kalya*. We also saw the remains of the very *kadam*-tree (*Nauclea Orien-*
“ *talis*), in which the god concealed himself after having stolen away the
“ clothes of the shepherdesses who were bathing in the holy stream. At
“ Binderabun we visited the several temples of *Atal-beháni*, *Kunj-beháni*,
“ *Banki-beháni*, *Rádhá-Kishór*, and *Góvind-jí*; all dedicated to the god
“ CRISHNA in his various shapes. I also assisted for some time in performing
“ the duties of the temple of *Kunj Beháni*. I visited the tree of *Rádhá*
“ (where CRISHNA assisted to dress his mistress), as also the *wownsí*-tree,
“ under which he used to recline and play on his pipe. I likewise visited
“ the *Séva Ban* and *Kunj Ban*, two groves where the god used to retire.
“ The trees of the latter are rather low in stature; but they are very
“ thickly studded with branches and leaves, affording a permanent shade.
“ The grove abounds in trees of all kinds: but those, whose nature it is to
“ have thorns in other places, here have none. I was much delighted in
“ these groves, and could fancy them still the retired abode of some
“ divinity.

“ I also went and rolled in the *Ramal Reti* (soft sand-hills in the bed of
“ the Jumna), which still remain as in the time of the god.

“ One afternoon I paid a visit to the holy persons who reside at the spot
“ called *Dnyán Gájri*, with whom I was much pleased; and before dark I
“ performed (*Sandhya*) prayers and ablutions at the *Dhír Sumír*, so called

“ from the gentle and cool breezes which blow there in the evening across
 “ the waters of the Jumna. This ceremony I continued for four days ; and
 “ I felt that all the members of my body, and my senses which had partaken
 “ of my devotions, were sanctified by the performance. While at Bin-
 “ derabun I could not help feeling a veneration for every thing I saw ; and
 “ even the holy men who sat in the *Kunj Ban* at different places, subsisting
 “ either wholly by drinking water, or by merely eating leaves and grass,
 “ inspired me at once with a sensation of respect and pleasure. One of
 “ these devotees, calling me to him, whispered a moral sentence into my ear,
 “ which he desired me to repeat frequently every day, and to act up to it.
 “ From Binderabun I went to Delhi, where, according to his Highness’s
 “ orders, I paid my respects to (PRIT’HIVÍ PATÍ) the ‘King of the Earth,’
 “ who received me with great affability, and presented me with robes of
 “ honour. On the same day, while sitting with his Highness, the sensation
 “ of an earthquake was experienced. During my residence at Delhi, I
 “ purchased a number of pictures,* taking care to make a selection free
 “ from all immodest and indecent representation.

“ At this period information was received, that in the north an army of
 “ *Yavanas* (Muhammedans), consisting of 75,000 men, had arrived on the
 “ west bank of the Jumna: but owing to the river being full from bank
 “ to bank, both armies† remained separated. His Highness however
 “ marched and occupied *Kunjpora*, in spite of the enemy’s efforts to
 “ prevent him. I accompanied the division which attacked, and God
 “ spared my life. The Muhammedans now forced the passage of the river,
 “ and were opposed by his Highness. I was a mere boy ; and his Highness,
 “ though sufficiently wise on all other occasions, seems on this to have lost
 “ his usual wisdom. My maternal uncle BALWANT RAO, and NANA PURAN-
 “ DARÍ, his Highness’s natural advisers, were set aside, and BHAWÁNÍ
 “ SANKAR and SHÁH NEWÁZ KHÁN became favourite counsellors ; in con-
 “ sequence of which he abandoned our system of warfare, and adopted
 “ that of the enemy. We were surrounded, and the enemy’s shot fell
 “ thickly among our tents daily. My mother and wife screamed with alarm,
 “ but I endeavoured to console them by desiring them to trust in
 “ God. At length my mother’s brother ‡ was killed, and had it not been

* He preserved this taste for paintings through life.

† The army of the Peshwa and that of the Muhammedans.

‡ Balwant Rao. Crishna Mehindli.

“ for the approach of darkness, we should all have been destroyed on that
“ night. Thus we remained in a state of siege for two months, during
“ which most of the cattle of the army died, and the stench was dreadful.
“ My aunt insisted on burning with her husband's body. Previously to the
“ last fatal action, his Highness had determined to destroy all the females
“ of his family rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of the enemy,
“ and I took the same resolution. We both left persons with them, to
“ perform the dreadful office in case of defeat. The battle at length com-
“ menced.* His Highness, though wise, valiant and experienced, had
“ latterly become proud and arrogant; and although the arrangement for
“ the action was good, yet he did not attend to it himself, nor did others.
“ Confusion prevailed in every direction. I remained close to his Highness,
“ but was able to do nothing, except to pray to God to save us. Wiswās
“ RAO† fell by a cannon-shot, when his Highness taking him up on his
“ elephant, stood fast. The Afghans dismounted from their horses, and
“ stormed the camp on all sides. The battle was now brought to cuts and
“ slashes. In this state of affairs the great officers of the left wing shewed
“ the example of flight. On the right, SINDIA and HOLKAR stood aloof,
“ and at last the royal standard was seen to retreat. Around his Highness
“ there were now only about two hundred men left, and he looked stupified
“ as if unable to see what passed about him. BAPUJ PANT told me to go to
“ the rear: I replied, ‘I cannot quit his Highness at such a moment;’ but
“ God prompted me soon after to follow his advice. I turned my horse's
“ head. Of one hundred thousand men, among whom were many great
“ officers of distinction, not one stood by his Highness at such a moment;
“ though I had heard them repeatedly swear in the time of peace, that
“ rather than a hair of his head should be touched, they would each
“ sacrifice a thousand lives if they had them: so that they turned out to
“ be the mere companions of his prosperity, and deserters in the hour of
“ adversity.

“ When I consider how he conciliated his chiefs with blandishments,
“ what honours, presents and estates he had conferred on them, and how he
“ had exerted himself to win their affections, it is matter of surprise to

* January 15, 1761.

† Wiswās Rao, the eldest and favourite son of the Peshwa, accompanied his uncle Bhao Sahib in this campaign.

“ reflect, that in the moment of trial he should have been so completely
 “ abandoned that no one knew how he fell, or what became of that person
 “ who so lately was the object of such great veneration.

“ The rout became general, and I reached Paniput just as the sun set in
 “ the heavens. Here was I, a stranger, without knowing an inch of my
 “ road, when Providence sent me a guide in the person of RĀMĀJĪ PANT,
 “ who advised me to abandon my horse and strip off my clothes, which I
 “ did, and we set off during the night. Before I had gone three miles I
 “ was examined by half-a-dozen bands of the cap-wearers, and they seldom
 “ failed to kill or wound ten or twelve of our party. That I escaped is
 “ only to be ascribed to the providence of God. Both RĀMĀJĪ PANT and
 “ BĀPĀJĪ PANT staid close to me, and before daylight we had gained ten
 “ coss * to the westward. Here we fell in with a body of the enemy, who
 “ wounded both my friends RĀMĀJĪ PANT and BĀPĀJĪ PANT very severely;
 “ not one was spared with the exception of me alone, who contrived to
 “ hide myself in some long grass, when God preserved me. I was thus
 “ compelled to proceed alone. I wandered two coss farther, when more of
 “ the enemy came in sight. I had recourse again to the long grass; but
 “ they discovered and dragged me forth, when an old man of the party said,
 “ ‘ he is but a boy, let him go;’ and they were thus induced to spare me.
 “ I had been ill before the battle, and had eaten little food for many days;
 “ but the dangers I had lately incurred seemed to have roused me, and I
 “ walked even without food nearly fifteen coss on the second day. At
 “ length, finding myself very hungry, I endeavoured to eat some leaves of
 “ the *ber-tree*,† but could not swallow them. I went on, till at last I
 “ reached the outside of a village just as the day closed. A *Bairdgī* (holy
 “ mendicant) went and brought me some flour, which I made up into a
 “ cake and ate. I never tasted so delicious a morsel, it was sweet as the
 “ nectar of heaven. I slept there during the night; and in the morning
 “ continued my journey, repeating some prayers and calling on the name of
 “ God. During the day I reached another village, and was hospitably
 “ received by a banker. I was recognized also by YESWANT RAO, a *cārcūn*
 “ (clerk) in the riding-school department. Here YESWANT RAO and I both
 “ took our meal together; but we were roused by information of the

* About twenty miles.

† The fruit resembles an olive in appearance, but in taste is not unlike an apple. It is the *zizyphus jujube*.

“ enemy’s horse having penetrated into the town. The banker offered to
“ hire a carriage for us, and to send us to Jayanagar : we gladly accepted
“ his proposal, and set off on our journey. At length it occurred to me,
“ that the carriage would certainly attract the attention of the enemy’s
“ horse if they were in the neighbourhood ; so I resolved to quit it and go
“ on foot. Our party now consisted of three or four Brahmins and five
“ or six Mahrattas ; and we went on without molestation for seven days,
“ begging our way, and depending on Providence for every meal we ate,
“ till at last we reached Rewari. We found that a great part of the army
“ had already fled by this route. At this place one BANKÍ RAO had been
“ very particular in his inquiries regarding me, as I understood from a
“ number of people I recognized in the town. As I knew nothing of this
“ person, and could not conceive what his intentions were, I was averse to
“ discovering myself, but at length I made myself known to him. He took
“ me instantly to his house, and treated me and all my party with great
“ kindness and hospitality ; he then furnished me with some clothes ; and
“ on its being made known who I was to RĀMJÍ DĀS, a merchant of the
“ place, he came and begged of me to occupy a part of his house. Here I
“ was entertained with great attention for some days. My wish now was to
“ proceed to Deeg and Bhurtpore, but it was requisite to have an escort.
“ At length a wedding-party was going in that direction ; and hiring a
“ carriage, I accompanied it. On the road I was met by CRISHNA BHATT
“ VAIDYA (doctor), who told me that VÍRĀJÍ BHĀWARIKĀR had saved my
“ wife, and having taken care of her, had left her in the house of NARO
“ PANT GOKLA in the village of Jigny, where they had procured for her
“ clothes and all that she required. I accordingly went to Jigny, and was
“ much delighted to find my wife again, for whom I now hired another car-
“ riage, and we proceeded to Deeg, where PURUSHÓTTAM MADHEO HIRIGUI*
“ had come from the field of Paniput, and was living in the house of a
“ *gomdāshṭa* (agent) of Wanoli, who had a banking-office in that town. The
“ moment the agent heard of my arrival he insisted on our going to put
“ up with him, where I remained with my wife for a full month. I found
“ my appetite had increased from my exertions greatly, and there was
“ neither want of clothes nor of good food in abundance. I made every
“ inquiry for my poor mother, but all that I could ever hear of her was

* Then, and for many years afterwards, the Dehli news-writer of Poona.

“ from one of my own *khidmutgars* (domestics), who said he saw her cut
 “ down while sitting on her horse, and believed that she died instantly.
 “ This is the only account I ever obtained of her fate. Having now sup-
 “ plied ourselves with horses and a *palkí*, I went by the route of Dhowl-
 “ pore to Gwalior. Here the bulk of the army that survived the action
 “ had arrived before me. Among others were PARWATÍ BHYE,* NANA
 “ PURANDERÍ, MULHARJÍ HOLKAR, and several others. My own wish at this
 “ time was to retire and to reside permanently at Benares, having had
 “ ample experience of the delights of a public life; but it is vain to oppose
 “ the decrees of fate, and I was prevailed on in the first place to revisit
 “ home,† to perform the obsequies for my mother among our relations, and
 “ then to act according to circumstances. I began to reflect what might
 “ happen to me if I went to Benares and left all those I was acquainted
 “ with; so I quitted Gwalior and marched south with the army.

“ I heard that when his Highness NANA SAHIB‡ received the news of
 “ the battle of Paniput, he asked GURUJÍ particularly about me, and said,
 “ ‘ he is a poor sickly creature, how will he ever survive, even if he is not
 “ ‘ killed by the enemy?’ But, by the care of Providence, I was preserved
 “ through all these dangers and difficulties. At Berhampur I had the
 “ happiness to see NANA SAHIB; but I found him sadly afflicted, and his
 “ frame much reduced. Indeed his intellect seemed affected sometimes;
 “ and contrary to custom, he was in the habit of abusing grossly the
 “ military chiefs. To me, however, even at these moments, he was
 “ extremely kind, and seemed anxious to know from my mouth every
 “ particular relating to the battle. NARÁYAN RAO§ having caught the
 “ small-pox in Malwa, he was left with GÓPÍKA BHYE|| on the Nerbudda,
 “ to follow after NANA SAHIB to the Deccan on his return. Moreover,
 “ some disagreement had lately taken place between them.¶ Thus it is,
 “ that, when people act contrary to the manner of the times, untoward
 “ circumstances will necessarily arise out of them. Seeing that affairs did
 “ not wear a pleasing aspect at court, I asked permission to go at once to
 “ my temple at Toka, where I again took up my former residence. His

* Bhao Sahib's wife.

† Desh.

‡ The Peshwa.

§ The Peshwa's second son, a boy of six or seven years of age.

|| The Peshwa's first wife.

¶ In this year Nana Sahib had married another wife, a Deshisht, at Pyetun, which gave Gopíka Bhye great offence.

“ Highness arrived some time afterwards, when I paid him my respects. I
“ was much in want of a *sáligrdma*,* and ventured to ask his Highness if
“ he could spare me one. He replied with the utmost kindness, ‘ go into
“ ‘ my tent and take your choice from amongst all I have.’ I accordingly
“ selected one. The next day was a fast with me ; and as it happened to be
“ the anniversary of BAJÍ RAO SAHIB’s death,† I was sent for to dine with him.
“ I was obliged to excuse myself on the score of its being my fast day. His
“ Highness however insisted on my going ; I spoke to the domestic priest
“ about it, but I found I should give offence if I staid away. When the
“ dinner was brought in, the Peshwa made his Highness MADHU RAO sit on
“ one side and me on the other, close to him ; and while the females were
“ putting down the dishes under his new wife’s superintendence, he con-
“ stantly corrected her in their arrangement ; and during dinner he caused
“ her to help me to some dishes, as if I were one of the family.

“ On his leaving Toka I begged permission to remain behind for some
“ time, till my mind had recovered its composure from the scenes which I
“ had lately witnessed, and the afflictions I had endured : to which he gave
“ his consent. His Highness went on to Poona ; but his mind was evidently
“ suffering severely, till at length, just before his death, I received a sum-
“ mons to repair quickly to Poona, and I had actually set off and gone as
“ far as Parnere, where I received the news of his death.

“ I had received a letter from his Highness DADA SAHIB, telling me by all
“ means to come immediately ; and I at last arrived at Poona. I was much
“ afflicted at the news of his Highness’s death, which took place at the
“ Parbatí ;‡ but I was very graciously received by his Highness DADA
“ SAHIB, who shortly after§ took his Highness MADHU RAO SAHIB to Satára
“ to receive the clothes of investiture, and ordered me to go with him. He
“ was very anxious also for me to accompany them when the Raja gave the
“ clothes ; but I begged to be excused, saying, his Highness was my imme-
“ diate sovereign, and I did not wish to be introduced to the Raja.

“ After his investiture, MADHU RAO SAHIB having had his audience of
“ leave, we returned to Poona.

* A particular kind of stone, used in religious ceremonies, containing one or more ammonites.

† 10th of May.

‡ 24th June 1761.

§ 21st July 1761.

“ On the road, one day, an infantry soldier seized a young woman in a field
 “ and threw her down, with the intention of committing a rape : one of the
 “ troopers on duty, * observing it, galloped up and pierced him to the heart
 “ with his spear. Thus I had before me an example of the consequences
 “ of indulgence in the passions.

“ On the next day his Highness crossed the Níra, but I remained that
 “ day at Sirioul ; and owing to the swelling of the river I was obliged to
 “ go in a boat : but the force of the current carried us down the stream.
 “ The boatmen declared they could do nothing ; and we had come close to
 “ some rocks, and must have been dashed to pieces in a few minutes. I
 “ called on God to assist us ; when two of the boatmen had the boldness to
 “ leap overboard, and gaining the bank, were able to drag the boat to the
 “ shore, by which means we were all preserved.

“ This providential circumstance was brought about through the inter-
 “ vention of VISHNU the preserver.

“ I then went on to Poona, and was shortly after called on by his High-
 “ ness to resume the functions of my office as *Farnevis*.”

Having finished this remarkable narrative, it seems incumbent on me to make some observations on its character. No one can doubt, who has attended to the beautiful introduction of this piece of biography, that its author had very sublime ideas of the nature of the Deity, whom he represents as ‘THE ONLY ONE—THE SPIRIT,’ who pervades all space, being every where present at the same moment, and omnipotent. This is, in fact, the true and original basis of the Hindu religion, though, like others which profess a belief in one God, it has in the course of time dwindled into the grossest idolatry. Polytheism received its first shape when the attributes of the ‘Only One’ became personified in his character of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, and mankind conceived that in worshipping symbols of his power in these several capacities, they were likely the more readily to attain the objects of their prayers. In order therefore to propitiate the Deity in his character, either of MAHA DEVA, VISHNU, or ŚIVA, the people made vows to render offerings to their temples in cases of success. In order to confer

* On the occasion of the march of troops through the country, it is usual to post safeguards to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants ; and it is concluded, that the trooper, meeting with resistance from the foot-soldier, felt himself authorized to act as he did.

additional sanctity on these proceedings, priests became requisite, and idols were manufactured at their suggestion, representing the pure divinity in a fanciful personification. The transition from the worship of material resemblances of a divinity to that of eminent and worthy princes, who had gained the hearts of their subjects, was simple, and accorded with the wishes of the people. So that after the death of their heroes, we may easily imagine how natural it was for the Hindus to place RAMA, LACSHMAN, HANUMAN, and CRISHNA (no doubt once real characters) among the number of their gods. It is thus, therefore, I think we may account for the existence of the Hindu Pantheon of the present day. That some respect for the character of these demi-gods prevails, even among the better classes of the Hindu nation at this moment, cannot be denied; but that learned Brahmins and men well-informed, who are otherwise intelligent, worship them with any degree of faith, may very fairly be doubted; while it would appear that NANA FARNEVIS had no such faith, even when a boy. The whole tenour of the manuscript I have translated proves that the belief in which he had been brought up taught him to place his whole reliance on the 'ONLY ONE.' It is on him he was accustomed to call in the hour of danger and in the day of battle, when all hope was lost. It was in him he placed his whole trust and confidence, when unarmed he fell into the hands of the sanguinary and relentless enemy. It was on him he called when tossed by the waters, the vessel was almost sure of being dashed against the rocks; and it was to him, in his character of VISUNU the preserver, that he offered up his thanks and devotions when he was almost miraculously snatched from the perils by which he was surrounded.

The exalted and pure notions that NANA FARNEVIS entertained of the Creator, are strongly contrasted with his notions of the abject condition of the creature. He describes man as a being compounded of perishable materials, and who in his animal capacity is only capable of partaking of worldly pleasure and pain, but whose frame is filled with a portion of the divine spirit, which, being separate from the body, animates it without partaking of its mortality. A being so formed, he observes, is the sport of *máydá*, or illusion, which urges him to follow the dictates of passion rather than submit to the control of reason. It is a consciousness of this imbecility, that induces him to confess with shame and remorse at how early a period he felt the influence of those evil tendencies which he was unable to control; and he states his determination to go to some holy spot in order to

destroy his bad propensities, and acquire a disposition to rivet his affections in contemplating the Deity.

It was with this intention he withdrew from the world at the early age of seventeen, to Toka on the Godaveri, and in prosecution of the same object, that he accompanied the army to the north in order to obtain an opportunity of visiting the classic ground of the demi-god CRISHNA. There is a simplicity and a strain of elegance pervading this part of his history which is singularly beautiful. He visits every spot described in the legend of the tenth canto of the *Bhagavat* (in which is to be found the history of CRISHNA), with a fervour very uncommon in persons of his age. The reflections he makes on every object he sees, and the fancied renovation of health and spirits in the abode of the deity, together with the pious enthusiasm he devotes to the performance of every part of his pilgrimage, are more calculated to convey to one's mind the fervent zeal of one of the ancients visiting the ruins of Athens or Thebes, than the picture of a Hindu, to whom we are not disposed to allow the possession of the quality of taste, which pervades the whole of NANA's narrative of this holy journey.

From this task he is hurried into the field of battle, where his feelings evidently partake more of the man of sentiment than of the hero; and we cannot but admire the beautiful apostrophe the Brahmin boy makes on the vain reliance to be placed on the fidelity of courtiers or princes, who had so often pledged themselves to die with their leader, but who so abandoned him on the day of trial that it was never known how or where he fell. The dangers which attended NANA FARNEVIS personally when he fled from the field of battle, and the manner in which he escaped, are well described; and without being intended to produce effect (for scarcely any person knew of this little piece of autobiography before it fell into my hands) afford us a simple but lively representation of the scene, as well as of the domestic habits and customs of his countrymen.

In conclusion, I trust that this small specimen of the talents of NANA FARNEVIS will excite considerable curiosity; and I cannot help thinking that an account of his private life, which I contemplate publishing, will prove an interesting and valuable work.

VIII. *Secret Correspondence of the Court of the Peshwa, MADHU RAO, from the Year 1761 to 1772. Translated from the Original Mahratta Letters, by Lieut.-Colonel JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S.*

Read May 3, 1828.

ON the last occasion on which we met, I was permitted by your indulgence to read a piece of autobiography of NANA FARNEVÍS, one of the most eminent persons who have become familiarly known to us since our first connexion with India. I stated that a vast number of the private and confidential papers of that extraordinary personage had fallen into my hands previously to my quitting India ; and that a small, but interesting portion of them, had been translated by me and brought to this country. These translations have been submitted to two or three of the most distinguished members of our Society ; and they have been pleased to express a wish that some of them might be brought to the notice of the Society, and explained by a narrative of the circumstances that led to their being written. The letters commence with the public life of NANA FARNEVÍS in 1761, and end with the fall of his power as minister to the Peshwa in 1796. They form valuable materials to elucidate his conduct during his long and arduous official career ; but they are the more remarkable for the insight they afford us into the secret springs which seem to have regulated the behaviour of his illustrious master and sovereign MADHU RAO the Great, who, as I have before mentioned,* ascended the throne in his sixteenth, and died in his twenty-eighth year. The period of his reign was that which formed the character of NANA FARNEVÍS, and the intercourse of these young persons is developed in a very interesting manner in the letters alluded to. The correspondence belongs as much to the biography of NANA as to that of MADHU RAO ; and as I have it in contemplation at some future period, if my time permits, to write the life of NANA, I am perhaps detracting from the value of that work by the present essay. My desire to contribute to the interest of our meetings, and to the utility of our Society, has however induced me to comply with the wishes

* Page 95.

of those members who have suggested this mode of introducing the curious correspondence of which I am in possession to this institution, and to the literary world.

I assume, that most of the members present have read the very excellent history of the Mahrattas, which has recently been published by Captain Grant Duff, late Resident at the court of Satára; and I shall therefore not enlarge on the nature of the relations which subsisted between the Peshwa and the Raja of all the Mahrattas; but shall give a very succinct account of the political situation of those states when MADHU RAO the Great ascended the throne of the Peshwas.

The Muhammedan hosts, settled in Transoxiana and Persia, first approached the Niláb (the upper part of the Indus) in the tenth century. They gradually spread themselves over Northern India, and established in Dehli a kingdom independent of the monarchy which had sent forth their lieutenants to conquest. Three centuries elapsed ere the Muhammedan arms penetrated to the south of the Nerbada; after which the lieutenants of the Dehli empire, in common with those of other parts, became independent; and at the period of the invasion of India in 1526 by Báber (the first of the race we designate by the title of the Great Mogul), all India north of the Crishna river had been for the most part subjugated by the Moslem troops, and no fewer than thirteen independent Muhammedan sovereigns reigned over a population of fifty millions of Hindus. Time had been allowed for these dynasties to sink into the luxury and imbecility which usually belong to despotism in the third or fourth generation; and the energy of the Mogul emperors, each of whom felt himself bound to accomplish the subjugation of all the Muhammedan princes whose ancestors had once been the lieutenants of the state, enabled them gradually to subvert their power, and to re-unite the dismembered provinces of the empire in the time of AURUNGZEB, the last efficient monarch of the Mogul race.

Availing himself of the circumstances of the times, SHAHJÍ, a Hindu officer of the Muhammedan kingdom of *Bijapore*, set the example of making conquests in the name of his master, but virtually retaining the power he obtained over the subjugated country in his own hands. The same line of conduct was more effectually adopted by his enterprising son, SIVAJÍ, who established an independent sovereignty in *Maharáshttra*, the country which we now call the Deccan. SHAO, the grandson of SIVAJÍ, giving way to the voluptuous habits which he had acquired in the court of AU-

RUNGZEB (where he had remained for many years a state prisoner,) permitted his prime minister, denominated *Peshwa*, to become virtually the executive ruler of the state; and this officer held his vice-regal court at Poona. BALAJÍ the first, and BAJÍ RAO his son, the second Peshwa, had successively filled these offices, when BALAJÍ the second, the father of MADHU RAO the Great, succeeded to the dignity of his ancestors in the year 1740.

By this time the Mahratta ascendancy was so great in India, that while one of its armies had repelled a partial invasion of the Afghans near the Indus, a second levied tribute in Behar, and a third having besieged and taken possession of Trichinopoly,* carried its Muhammedan prince, CHUNDA SAHIB, a prisoner to Satára, where he remained in confinement for more than seven years. A sum of twenty thousand rupees, being a share of the tribute derivable from the territory of Arcot, was assigned to the Peshwa BALAJÍ the second; heavy contributions had been imposed on the ruler of the Mysore at the very gates of his capital; while the whole of the country below the western mountains, conquered from the Portuguese at this period, was made over by the Raja of Satára to his minister: and the occupation of Malwa was at the same time granted to BALAJÍ by the feeble emperor of Dehli, in order to induce the Mahrattas to furnish a body of four thousand horse to protect his throne.

The following substance of this grant, to be found in Captain Grant Duff's Mahratta history, affords a fair specimen of the duties imposed on the Peshwa:

“ The dignity of the Shahzada's (prince's) deputy in Malwa, together
“ with the income attached to that situation, having been conferred on you,
“ proper arrangements must be made in that province, so as to afford the
“ subjects paying revenue to government due favour and protection, and
“ to punish all such as are evil-disposed and disaffected. You must pre-
“ vent the use of intoxicating drugs and spirituous liquors, and must
“ administer justice equally, so that the strong shall not oppress the weak,
“ and that no species of violence be tolerated.”

The Raja SHAO of Satára had for many years been in a state of mental imbecility; this aberration of mind was produced, it was supposed, by the death of a favourite wife. During his lucid intervals he was advised to adopt a son, his own having died some time before the wife

* 26th March 1741.

alluded to. To this measure he at length acceded. A member of the family, not hitherto known to exist, was suddenly produced from obscurity; and on the death of Raja SHAO (which happened shortly after) the prince was raised to the throne, and his palace became his prison to the day of his decease. The Peshwa BALAJÍ was not the person who confined the prince in the first instance, but it was his aunt TARA BHYE, an ambitious and clever woman, who hoped by this measure to assume the reins of government, and to subvert the power acquired by the Peshwa. She was, however, caught in her own toils. BALAJÍ resisted her authority in the name of the prince whom he affected to regard as his sovereign, but whose release out of the hands of his aunt he never attempted to effect. From that period till the subversion of the government of the Peshwas, ten years since, the existence of the Rajas of Satára has hardly been known, and their power has been virtually extinct.

The duty of occupying Malwa, and enforcing obedience to the royal grant, was consigned to two chiefs, HOLKAR and SINDIA; and their descendants still hold that extensive territory, the revenues of which were then estimated at one hundred and fifty lacs of rupees, equal to about a million and a-half sterling.

One other point of the political relations of the Mahrattas with the Muhammedans seems necessary to explain the narrative which is about to follow. This is, the existence of a very formidable power of the latter nation in the Deccan. This state was the vice-regal government of Hyderabad, held for several years by the descendants of *Nizám-ul-Múlk*, called by us the Nizam. The Mahratta armies, in the course of their operations, either overran the districts of this neighbour, or by forbearance obtained security for their own country during the absence of their soldiers in other quarters; and something like a balance of power seems to have been mutually recognized as politic by the parties, which however did not preclude them from occasional contests on questions of local importance.

Dissensions either at the court of Poona or Hyderabad usually led to these wars; and an opportunity to support the claims of some exiled relative ever afforded a plea for interference which brought with it the ultimate prospect of aggrandizement. It is not necessary to go into the details of these wars: for the present suffice it to say, that the Peshwa's brother RAGHUNÁT'H RAO, had been much employed in active military operations,

and had greatly distinguished himself, while his cousin, SADÁS'IVA PANT BHAO, was not his inferior in martial reputation.

Nor was the Peshwa himself inactive: in his contests with the Nizam, BALAJÍ had compelled him to cede territory yielding twenty-five lacs of rupees; and in a campaign into Mysore, he reduced that government to the necessity of paying a sum of thirty-two lacs of rupees.

In the year 1759, RAGHUNÁT'H RAO, the Peshwa's brother, returned to Poona from a successful campaign in Hindustan; but instead of bringing wealth to the coffers of the State, he lavished all the booty acquired, and had demands for the payment of his troops upon the public treasury. SADÁS'IVA RAO, the Peshwa's cousin, who at this time conducted the civil administration of the government, reproached RAGHUNÁT'H RAO with his profusion: the latter became incensed, and told SADÁS'IVA RAO that on the next expedition he had better assume the military command. The cousins accordingly changed places; and SADÁS'IVA RAO shortly after evinced additional martial talents in a campaign against the Nizam, in which he compelled him to cede in perpetuity territory yielding more than £690,000 of annual revenue.

At this time the crisis arrived when it was prudent to put forth the whole strength of the Mahratta power in opposing the encroachments of the Afghans upon the territory of Dehli. Accordingly the Peshwa, BALAJÍ RAO, having left his brother RAGHUNÁT'H RAO as regent at Poona, marched to the north accompanied by his cousin SADÁS'IVA RAO, and his eldest son WISWÁS RAO, the heir to his throne. The main body of the army, under the latter prince, moved on to Dehli, while the Peshwa had scarcely reached the Nerbada, when he heard of the fatal defeat of his army at Paniput, and the loss of his favourite son and of his cousin SADÁS'IVA RAO. This event made so deep an impression on his mind, that the Peshwa's intellects became impaired; and he died in a state of mental derangement at Poona a few months afterwards, leaving two sons, MADHU RAO, aged sixteen, and NÁRÁYAN RAO, aged nine years. The former was raised to his father's dignity; but his uncle RAGHUNÁT'H RAO (who is known to Europeans by the name of RAGOBA), retained in his hands the supremacy of the government, and denied to his nephew any share in the administration.

The loss of the battle of Paniput and its consequences, afforded to the Muhammedan government of Hyderabad a favourable opportunity to recover the territory ceded to the Mahrattas; and the Nizam did not allow it to escape. War was declared for this purpose, and the Regent RAGOBA was

compelled to cede territory yielding £27,000 of revenue to the enemy; to prevent the destruction of Poona, in the vicinity of which the Muhammedan army had arrived.*

Shortly after this peace, the young Peshwa accompanied his maternal uncle TRYAMBAC RAO with an army to the south, to levy tribute in Mysore; and the following letter to his friend NANA FARNEVIS, who had remained in Poona, gives us some idea of his character :

“ 1st June 1762.

“ The news here are, that we have succeeded in all our affairs, with the exception of that of Sera. There has been too little time to effect much ; for the rains having set in, the Tumbhadra swelled, and we were prevented doing any thing against Seringapatam this campaign : but we have accomplished all our wishes on this side of that river. The Crishna has detained us here for two or three days ; but the head-quarters have crossed, and the bazar (including camp-suttlers and followers) is gradually crossing also. I fear we shall however be detained for two days more : yet I am sanguine that we shall reach Poona by the 12th of June.”

During the young prince's campaign with his maternal uncle, he resolved to adopt a new line of conduct. His mother, GORÍKA BHYE, an able and ambitious woman, had long cherished enmity against her late husband's brother RAGOBÁ, but more especially against his wife ANANDÍ BHYE, who was more artful, and fully as ambitious as herself. The feeling of hostility which prevailed in the breast of the mother of the young Peshwa was carefully transfused by her into his own ; and the late confidential intercourse which had subsisted between him and his mother's brother TRYAMBAC RAO, decided him in declaring, on his return to Poona, his determination to have a share at least in the management of his own affairs. His uncle RAGOBÁ, and SÁKÁRÁM BAPPU, the most efficient of the ministers, offended at his presumption, and conceiving that the public affairs could not be conducted without them, resigned their offices. MADHU RAO, however, with the utmost promptitude, formed a new administration, at the head of which was his mother's brother TRYAMBAC RAO, while among his personal and confidential secretaries was his friend NANA FARNEVIS. RAGOBÁ retired to Nasuk, and in a short time appeared at the head of an army of Mahrattas, assisted by the Nizam with a considerable body of his troops ; in return for

which assistance, the remainder of the cessions made by the Hyderabad state to the late Peshwa in 1760 were to be formally relinquished.

In this alarming state of his affairs, the young Peshwa marched to oppose his uncle RAGOBA; but having learned what sacrifice the latter was about to make, and reflecting on the ascendancy which so unnatural a war must give to the Nizam, the hereditary enemy of the Mahrattas, he offered no resistance when the two armies met, but threw himself into his uncle's power, by whom he was retained as a state prisoner, and RAGOBA reassumed all the functions of head of the Mahrattas. The consequences of this revolution soon became apparent. The personal adherents and friends of the young Peshwa were dismissed, and some of them imprisoned and disgraced; measures which gave great umbrage to a very powerful party inimical to the regent. In addition to this, RAGOBA now hesitated to fulfil the engagements which he had made with the Nizam, who immediately prepared for war. The Mahrattas also took the field; but avoiding an action with the enemy, plundered the Nizam's territories. Many of the partizans of the young Peshwa joined the Nizam, who, emboldened by this circumstance, penetrated to Poona, and not only sacked, but burned that town. This imprudent step created much disaffection among his Mahratta partizans, who received secret communications from the young Peshwa to return to the cause of their country, without regard to his condition. Meanwhile the Mahratta army burned the suburbs of Hyderabad, and having approached the Nizam's army, harassed it by skirmishes, without venturing on a general engagement.

The war had become so unpopular with the Mahratta chiefs allied with the Nizam, that placing little reliance on them, that prince was induced to retire towards Aurungabad. On reaching Rakisbori, a town on the banks of the Godaveri, the Muhammedan head-quarters and part of the cavalry had already crossed when the army of RAGOBA appeared in sight. He was too experienced a general not to perceive his advantage, and he instantly engaged that portion of the enemy which was still on the south bank. A desperate conflict ensued; the regent RAGOBA's troops fell back; and his own elephant being surrounded by the enemy, he was a prisoner in their hands. His gallant nephew, regardless of the injuries he had sustained, and of all personal advantages which must have accrued to him on the death or captivity of his uncle, addressed the corps of one hundred cavalry which formed his guard, and persuaded them to follow him in effecting the

regent's release. This band, animated with the same spirit which fired the bosom of the young hero, charged the body of the enemy into whose hands their prince had fallen, and the young Peshwa not only rescued his uncle, but turned the fate of the day, and obtained a complete victory, on which occasion the Nizam's prime minister and generalissimo fell. An account of this battle, which took place on the 11th August 1762, written by MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS, is still in existence, and affords a good sample of the vigorous style of the young Peshwa, then in his nineteenth year; but, consistently with the modesty which usually belongs to such minds, he makes no mention whatever of his own share in the transaction.

Letter from MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS.

" NIZAM ALI KHAN marched on Rakisbori with his whole army, to cross
 " the Godaveri. He himself, with eight hundred Patan cavalry, had
 " already gained the north bank; the remainder, being about four thousand
 " men, composed of cavalry, infantry, and guns, under VITALA SUNDER and
 " VINÁYAK DÁS, were still on the south bank on the 28th of Mohram
 " (11th August). In this situation, after a march of eight coss (sixteen
 " miles), our light troops suddenly came upon the enemy, who drew up to
 " receive us. An action ensued, which lasted four *ghatikas* (about an hour
 " and a-half). The enemy behaved with great spirit, but was defeated.
 " VITALA SUNDER's * head was cut off. VINAYIK DASS's body was also found
 " among the slain, besides several other officers who were killed. About
 " three hundred Patans were left dead on the field. MORÁD KHÁN and some
 " officers of distinction have been made prisoners. A portion fled and
 " escaped; but of those who attempted to swim the river many were
 " drowned. The enemy's camp equipage has all fallen into our hands.
 " Twenty guns, besides magazines of powder, rockets, balls and lead, have
 " also been captured, as well as fifteen elephants.

" On our part, MADHAJÍ NAYAC NIMBALKER and CULAJI RAO PATANKÚR
 " were killed; in addition to some other chiefs. We have also a long list of
 " wounded, but by the favour of God we gained the victory. BHOSLA has
 " joined."

The last three words conveyed to his correspondent the most important information of all. This chief was the Raja of Nagpore, who, with a con-

siderable body of troops had taken part with the Nizam against the regent RAGOBA; but on discovering the active part the young Peshwa had taken, and owing to the private overtures made to him, he had joined the Mahrattas, and contributed mainly to effect the reconciliation which was subsequently brought about between the uncle and nephew.

The following letter, written by MORO BABU RAO, the cousin of Nana, to the latter, gives a very full explanation of the state of affairs.

“ South bank of the Godaveri, 22d August 1763.

“ It is some time since I heard from you : I beg of you always to patronize
“ me by your correspondence. I wrote to you from Aurungabad, and also
“ sent one or two letters afterwards, which I trust have been received. I
“ got one letter from you which contained no news ; and I am still in igno-
“ rance where you now are, or what you are about. With regard to us,
“ we were in the Nawáub's (Nizam's) camp with BHOSLA and the rest of the
“ chiefs. Meanwhile his Highness (RAGOBA), accompanied by BESÁLET
“ JENG (the Nizam's brother), came into the neighbourhood of our (the
“ Nizam's) camp. At this time his Highness RAGOBA's troops were in
“ great consternation. On our part the Mahratta auxiliaries were nu-
“ merous and formidable. His Highness RAGOBA's affairs were desperate,
“ for if he had been defeated by the Muhammedans, the Hindu government
“ might have been subverted. Taking this circumstance into our con-
“ sideration, GOPAL RAO (the chief of *Mirch*), and others of the Poona
“ party, made efforts to gain over BHOSLA, and to induce him to desert the
“ Nizam. Overtures had been made to us through his Highness (MADHU
“ RAO) for more than a month, when we at length deputed RAMAJÍ BELAL
“ and HARI U'MÁJÍ to proceed to his Highness RAGOBA's camp, and to make
“ terms for us all. His Highness, however, could not be brought to confide
“ in our promises, and he hesitated in attacking the Nizam's army, owing
“ to its strength, but marched to Ahmednagar. BHOSLA was now gained
“ over, and he resolved not to accompany the Moguls beyond the Godaveri.
“ We also took measures for breaking with the Nizam ; and GOPAL RAO
“ accordingly demanded some forts to be given into our hands, in order to
“ have places of safety for our families. This request not being acceded
“ to, afforded us a plea to quit the Moguls in disgust. I, with many others,
“ went to Mungulwehra.* The instant we reached home (that is the

* A town near Punderpore, on the Bhíma.

“ Mahratta territory), his Highness RAGOBA sent NARO SANKAR RAJA
 “ BEHADUR to us with ample promises ; we accordingly left the place of
 “ our retreat on the 11th of August,* and reached this camp on the 20th
 “ instant. We were met at some distance by both their Highnesses
 “ (RAGOBA and the young Peshwa), who told me they had written to you,
 “ and expected you here immediately.

“ Having entered into this detail, that you may know the state of affairs,
 “ let me hear from you ; and intimate when we may expect you. I propose
 “ taking leave in a day or two to proceed and visit my father at Devagirry
 “ (Dowlutabad). BHOSLA is with us, and encamped near to us.

“ The Nawaub (Nizam) got safely across the river. VITALA SUNDER, with
 “ three or four thousand Moguls, was still on the south bank when he was
 “ attacked by his Highness. VITALA SUNDER behaved most gallantly ; the
 “ battle raged for an hour and a-half with great fury. His Highness
 “ RAGOBA was obliged to fall back half a coss (a mile). The enemy pushed
 “ him vigorously ; for although the Mahrattas were the most numerous,
 “ they had no guns nor rockets. The action was brought to short weapons,
 “ and at length God favoured his Highness, who was saved and gained the
 “ victory. VITALA SUNDER, VINAYÁK DÁS, the RAJA of KUNDHAR, with
 “ other chiefs, fell in the field.

“ His Highness says he is very desirous you and I should be in camp
 “ together. I am here already, and you are expected, so make haste and
 “ come.”

Postscript in the hand-writing of MORO BULAL PUTWARDHEN:—“ All the
 “ Putwardhens send their compliments.”

A partial reconciliation having been effected between the Peshwa and his
 uncle RAGOBA, and the most respectable chiefs having sided with the former,
 MADHU RAO felt himself at liberty to proceed with his army to the south
 and renew the campaign against Mysore, while his uncle was to be left in
 charge of the civil administration at Poona. This arrangement met the con-
 currence of all the ministers ; and the Peshwa departed. An incident however
 occurred, about this time, which rendered it necessary for him to alter his
 plans ; and it sets the characters of the young Peshwa and that of his uncle
 in their true light. RAGOBA, though ambitious, was naturally generous ;
 and though he could not part with his power, he admired the amiable and

manly conduct of his nephew, who even at this early age seems to have penetrated deeply into his uncle's character.

The Peshwa's army had arrived in the neighbourhood of Waf, when he learned by an express messenger that his uncle was raising troops and that he meditated an insurrection to effect his seizure. The measures which the Peshwa took on this occasion were as prompt as judicious. The persons on whose assistance RAGOBA chiefly relied had not yet reached Poona; no overt steps had been taken, but the plot was certain, and the instruments might soon be expected. The Peshwa was aware that his own party in Poona was at present strong, and that no troops had yet been raised by his uncle; he accordingly directed a considerable body of cavalry to return by the high road to the capital, while he, mounting a favourite mare, and with only one attendant, proceeded across the mountains, and reached the palace unexpectedly at daylight next morning. He sprang from his horse and ran through the apartments (unarmed as he was), till he reached his uncle's presence. RAGOBA, equally surprised and mortified at this sudden appearance of his nephew, feigned great gratification, and asked the cause. A few moments served the Peshwa to explain himself: "I am no sooner absent than your Highness, I hear, has ordered troops to be raised, which I learn are to be employed against me. This is quite unnecessary. I have left my army, and am come alone and unarmed to submit to your will, rather than be the cause of dissensions among my countrymen." RAGOBA is said to have melted into tears at the contemplation of so much generosity, and to have clasped his nephew in his arms. The day passed in professions of regard on the part of RAGOBA; and during the night the arrival of the Peshwa's troops placed him in a situation to enable him to make more satisfactory arrangements for the management of his affairs during his absence.

SAKARAM BAPPU, the most able minister of the state, was, on the whole, favourable to RAGOBA, for which reason the Peshwa insisted on his accompanying his army to the south, thus ensuring at the same time the use of his talents, and separating him from his uncle. The Dowager GOPKA BHYE, and her son NARAYAN RAO, remained in Poona; and NANA FARNEVIS was left in charge of the government; while RAGOBA and his wife ANANDI BHYE retired in much disgust to Anandivilli, where they had a palace on the Godaveri, near the town of Nasuk.

The military ardour of the young Peshwa prompted him to take the field

in person against HYDER, who had now usurped the whole power of the Mysore state ; but MADHU RAO's mind was full of anxiety for his domestic interests, as appears from the letters he wrote about this time to his deputy NANA FARNEVIS.

FROM MADHU RAO PESHWA TO NANA.

“ Camp, 17th March 1764.

“ I have received your letter, stating that my venerable mother is gone to Tryambac, and that she has left my brother NARAYAN RAO at Poona.

“ I have also received a list of the losses sustained through the fire, which shall be taken into consideration and replied to at a future period ; meanwhile, let me know where my uncle (RAGOBHA) is at present. MULHAR RAO HOLKAR has seen him, accompanied by his minister ; and you must ascertain and let me know what passed between them, and what they intend doing.”

Again, on the 28d March 1764, he writes to NANA FARNEVIS :

“ Your letters are not sufficiently in detail. Let me know where my uncle (RAGOBHA) is, how he is, what he is doing, and what are his future plans. Have you not the means of ascertaining all these facts fully ? I should like to know what accounts he gets from my camp, and what he says of them. MULHARBA (MULHAR RAO HOLKAR) certainly met my uncle ; but I did not hear what passed. You must ascertain the particulars, and let me know. Write also all you hear regarding him.

“ Where does my mother mean to fix her residence ? Ascertain what passed between her and my uncle. I hear my mother's brother also visited her at Poona. Let me know, if you can, what occurred on the occasion.”

The delay caused by the necessity of the Peshwa's return to Poona, as has been stated, had prevented his making much progress in the war before the rains commenced in June, when he was obliged to put his army into quarters at some distance north of Dharwar. His uncle, who had at first retired towards Nasuk in disgust, now resolved to join his nephew, and giving orders for the equipment of a formidable army, gave out that he intended to march to the southern frontier, a measure by no means agreeable to the Peshwa, but which the latter could not directly oppose. The letters which MADHU RAO wrote to NANA on the subject of his uncle's equipments at this time, are important, and shew considerable talent in so young a person.

Official, in the hand-writing of the Secretary HARI PANT :

“ 12th of August 1764.

“ Your letter of the 21st of July was duly received on the 10th of August,
“ stating, that you had received his Highness my uncle's orders to farm
“ the revenues of the districts for the next year, and that you are accord-
“ ingly doing so: that his Highness had gone to Tryambac: that two lacs
“ (£20,000) had been fixed for the artillery equipments; and that when the
“ instalments payable next month are received, you will send me a lac
“ and a-half of rupees (£15,000). You observe, that money may be expected
“ immediately from the revenues remittable by SINDIA and the GAIKWAR. Out
“ of this, ‘ five lacs are required for the garrisons; half of the balance has
“ ‘ been allotted for his Highness (my uncle's) equipments; and the other
“ ‘ half is to be sent to the Carnatic.’ According to this statement, nothing
“ remains over; but you say you will do all you can to meet my wants here.
“ Now that you have got the management of the revenue department, I
“ have no doubt you will contrive to raise something more than usual on
“ account of government: of this I rest satisfied. By your account, the
“ expenses of the new artillery establishment, and of the troops raising by
“ my uncle, will be enormous. I should think so many guns quite unne-
“ cessary; nor ought such a number of new troops to be raised. I have
“ written to him two or three times on this subject; but I wish you to take
“ a favourable opportunity of impressing it on his mind. The enemy is
“ not to be defeated merely by a large park of artillery. My uncle has
“ already twenty guns with him. If they are properly equipped in every
“ respect, they should be sufficient. Still, if his mind is set on having
“ more guns, he must be indulged. Last year, when I left Poona, the
“ sum of a lac and a-half of rupees was considered enough for my twenty
“ guns; the estimates will be found in the arsenal. You had better carry
“ them to my uncle, and shew them to him.

“ One word for all. Do not allow the expenses there (Poona) to be too
“ large. I am always writing on this subject, and I beg of you constantly to
“ remind my uncle of it. Our expenses here must necessarily be great.

“ The household troops have only received half their field allowances for
“ last year, so that half is still due to them, independent of what is to
“ be paid for this year. These are exclusive of payments to the artillery,
“ and in compensation for horses killed in action. So, you see, the more
“ money you can send here the better. I conclude, that the lac and a-half of

“ cash mentioned in your letter has been despatched ere this time. Bills
 “ have been drawn on you for 75,000 rupees, which I beg, after commu-
 “ nicating with my uncle, may be paid as they fall due ; if any difficulty
 “ should be made, I shall lose my character. The money has been already
 “ advanced to us by the bankers in this quarter, so it is of the utmost
 “ importance to the credit of our camp-bankers that the money should be
 “ paid punctually, under any circumstances. This sum must not be deducted
 “ from that which you are sending to me. If it is true, as I hear, that
 “ some balances are due to the farmers of revenue of last year, it must be
 “ ascribed to the consequences of the war in this quarter. You must
 “ persuade them not to urge for repayment just now ; but, if you can,
 “ endeavour to raise a loan from them, and at all events induce them to pay
 “ their future instalments punctually.”

The following is another letter of the same date, written in MADHU RAO's own hand :

“ 12th of August 1764.

“ The following is the state of affairs in this quarter :—HYDER NAIC is
 “ now in Hungul ; his troops are much dispirited, and quit him daily, par-
 “ ticularly his infantry. He has at present from ten to twelve thousand
 “ regular infantry, besides about two or three thousand cavalry. It is on
 “ his regular infantry and guns he places his whole dependence ; his
 “ cavalry will not remain long with him, and those in his camp at present
 “ are preparing to come over to me. With regard to my own troops, we
 “ are principally in want of supplies ; provisions are dear, and a great deal
 “ of distress prevails. Forage, however, is still abundant. The cash you
 “ mentioned is not yet come. Pray let us have it quickly ; it is impossible
 “ to say how much it is wanted.”

Other letters, dated the 21st and 22d of August ; and the 3d, 5th, and 15th of September, are all in the same strain ; want of money, and the necessity for limiting the military equipments of RAGOBA at Poona.

On the 27th of September 1764, MADHU RAO writes to NANA FARNEVIS in his own hand :

“ I have received your letter, and read it with great attention, particularly
 “ the part regarding PURANDHAR, and that stating the negociations to be
 “ in the hands of TRYAMBAC RAO MARNÄ.

“ You write that my uncle has been unwell. Let me hear how he is at
 “ present, and when he intends coming to this quarter.”

Again, on the same day :

“ Ascertain what is the nature of the correspondence my uncle has lately opened with the Nizam, and who are the people employed in this business.”

As a proof of the influence the females had at the court of Poona, and of the deference paid to them, the following letter is introduced :

On the 1st of June 1764, MADHU RAO writes : “ My aunt PÁRWATÍ BHIYE (the widow of BHAO SAHIB, who commanded the army and lost his life at Paniput) complains of want of courtesy from you. By all means indulge her whims, and keep her in good humour ; do not give room to her to complain again.”

This line of conduct was accordingly adopted ; but the result is apparent from the following letter, dated the 6th of October 1764 :

“ I understand that PÁRWATÍ BHIYE has procured some of the jewels to be sent to her from Sirgur. Enquire if this be the case ; and if so, procure them to be sent back into the fort without mentioning it to my uncle RAGOBA. Let this be done at once.

“ When I came away I told both you and NARO PANT not to allow any of those jewels to be removed without asking me. How is it then, when I spoke so plainly on this subject, that this has occurred ? You can tell my aunt (PÁRWATÍ BHIYE) quietly, that ‘ you did not like to prevent her ‘ having the jewels to look at when she wanted them, for fear of giving ‘ her offence, but that you now beg her to send them back, for if I hear ‘ it I shall be very angry with you.’ Make this excuse to her, and get the jewels back. Do not let any body see this letter. This is the method of managing my aunt, so as to have the jewels back into the fort.”

In the month of December 1764, RAGOBA, having finished his field equipments, proceeded to join his nephew, whose military operations against HYDER, according to the historians of that time, Grant Duff and Colonel Wilks, were eminently successful. This youthful chieftain had driven the enemy’s troops before him in all directions, and compelled HYDER to fall back, with his army dispersed, excepting two thousand five hundred horse and ten thousand infantry and guns ; and he was reduced to such extremities as to open a negociation through RAGOBA, who had just reached his nephew’s camp. MADHU RAO gave up the whole of the negociation to his uncle, who effected a peace on terms which Colonel

Wilks, the historian of HYDER, observes,* were extremely moderate, considering the desperate circumstances in which HYDER stood. In a note, Colonel Wilks states, "NARO SANKER (RAJA BAHADUR) was the person " sent by RAGOBA to HYDER for the final adjustment of the terms; and " among them were, without question, some secret articles which were the " foundation of that good understanding which ever afterwards subsisted " between HYDER and RAGHUNÁTH RAO (RAGOBA)."

The young Peshwa was not deceived in the nature of this transaction; but having given his uncle full powers to treat, he had the honour to confirm the treaty, though he expressed his dissatisfaction in plain terms. HYDER paid £320,000 to the Mahrattas in February 1765; and their army retired to Poona.

These events only tended to create additional mistrust of his uncle on the part of the Peshwa, and dislike of the latter in the mind of RAGOBA.

The year 1765 was spent in enforcing payment of some tribute from the Raja of Nagpore; and in the latter end of the same year, in spite of the intrigues he had been carrying on throughout that period, RAGOBA obtained leave to assume the command of an army to proceed to Malwa.

The absence of the Mahratta troops from the southern frontier seems at this period to have incited HYDER to attack the territories of the Mahrattas and the Nizam, who formed a coalition against the chief of Mysore, in which the English were to join.

As a sample of the method of conducting his business, the following memorandum, dated 1767, in MADHU RAO's own hand, and left with NANA FARNEVIS, is given; it was found among the papers of the latter, and is curious:

" Done. 1. To settle the balances of the commissariat.

" 2. BABU RAO SADÁSIVA's business.

" Done. 3. To make half the advances to the troops.

" Done. 4. Equipments of the household horse.

" Done. 5. Revenues to be farmed to RASTIA.

" Done. 6. To examine GOPAL RAO's accounts.

" Done. 7. The balances due from GOPAL RAO on account of tribute,
" to be settled.

" Done. 8. GOPALJI BHOSLA's affairs.

" Done. 9. The Pungrunnere business.

- " *Done.* 10. LACSHMAN KONERE's accounts.
- " *Done.* 11. The establishments for the Concan.
- " *Done.* 12. CRISHNA RAO BULAL to be employed.
- " *Done.* 13. Answer to MUHAMMED ALI KHAN's letter.
 - " 14. Shahpur to be made over to GOPAL RAO.
 - " 15. The elephant from GOPAL RAO.
- " *Done.* 16. Who is to be left in charge of the great seal.
 - " 17. The Guzerat bills.
 - " 18. Balances to be received from NIMBALKUR.
 - " 19. HOLKAR's money affairs.
 - " 20. The arrangement for MAHÍPAT ROM's troops.
- " *Done.* 21. Letter to my uncle regarding BHOSLA.
- " *Done.* 22. The *Desmukh* of Salsette.
- " *Done.* 23. The *Desmukh* of Bassein.
- " *Done.* 24. Reply to BHOSLA's letter.
 - " 25. Political affairs to be transacted through BABU RAO UDAO.
- " *Done.* 26. To fix the expenses of the hill-fort garrisons.
- " *Done.* 27. To settle the business of the *Chowdri* of Kallian.
- " *Done.* 28. 1,500 men to be sent (to join my army) from the Concan,
 - by GOTWAL PUT'HÍ.
- " 29. Balances to be left with NARO CRISHNA.
- " 30. Forts to be taken out of the charge of NARO CRISHNA.
- " *Done.* 31. Settlement for the district of Nihar."

It appears therefore that out of thirty-one memoranda of things to be done, twenty-one were carried into effect by himself previously to his quitting Poona to open the campaign, and the remaining ten were left to be fulfilled by NANA FARNEVÍS, and the other ministers remaining in Poona.

One of the earliest of MADHU RAO's letters of the year 1767, written before he entered the enemy's territory, is on the subject of a new garden and pleasure-house he wished to have constructed ere his return, to gratify his young wife RÁMÁ BHYE, to whom he was devotedly attached.

MADHU RAO Peshwa to NANA FARNEVÍS, in his own hand.

" 24th January 1767.

" I want to have a new garden and pleasure-house. BHUKAJÍ NAYAC
 " KOLUBKUR (a near connexion) has been entrusted with the arrangements

“ for it ; so pray comply with any requisition he may make of you to complete it.

“ Tear this letter.”

The pleasure-house, situated in the midst of a beautiful cypress garden on a handsome lake in the skirts of the town of Poona, is still standing, and is known by the appellation of the *Hira Bagh* (the diamond garden). It forms one of the most picturesque objects of the place, and has frequently employed the pencils of the European amateur artists of both sexes since we took possession of the country in 1818.

The same subject is alluded to in another letter, dated the 26th of March :

“ You will learn all the news from the accompanying letters. Do you never go to see how my new garden and pleasure-house are going on ? What sort of a place are they making of it ? How far is it advanced ? Write me all the particulars. Do you find my agent zealous in the undertaking, or does he throw obstacles in the progress of the work ? Let me hear also every little particular you can learn regarding Anan-divalli (the residence of his uncle's wife and family). Write these with your own hand, without letting any one see the letter.

“ I wish you would have the female apartments over the terrace of the new pleasure-house prettily painted, so that they may be worth looking at. This is a point I leave entirely to your own taste. You can let me know what is your opinion on this subject.”

“ Tear this letter.”

In another letter, dated the 6th of September 1767, MADHU RAO mentions having sent some very fine muslin, which he begs may be worked in gold for his lady ; with the usual injunction of destroying the order.

The following military letters, written by a youth of twenty-one, are spirited, and mark the character of the writer :

MADHU RAO, in his own hand, to NANA FARNEVIS and GOVIND SIVARANI, dated the 6th of March 1766.

“ The news in this quarter are that the fort of Mudgirí has fallen. It is a very nice place, resembling Dowlutabad. It was very unlikely to be carried by storm, but God so ordered it. This is the truth, for no one looking at it would say it could be taken in the way it was. It is certainly very strong. It is close to Sera. HYDER NAIC is at *Puttan* (Seringapatam), from whence he has sent an agent to treat for peace, but we have

“ come to no terms. I shall continue my march on Kolar and Oscotta.
“ We are fast recovering the districts taken from MORARI RAO. *Gorybinda*
“ has also fallen; and the Raja and Raní of Bednore are in our hands,
“ which is an object of some importance.”

“ 8th of March 1767. Sera.

“ We found MÍR HYDER, the brother-in-law of HYDER NAIC, encamped
“ under the walls of this place, with about two thousand men. We in-
“ stantly attacked and defeated them, taking five or six guns. There were
“ two others that the enemy threw into the ditch, which we shall soon
“ have also. Of the guns captured on this occasion two are beautiful
“ field pieces, better by far than any we have in our arsenal. We have
“ established ourselves on the same spot the enemy occupied, and also on
“ the crest of the glacis, where our trenches are now being formed; and,
“ the batteries once opened, we shall, by the blessing of God, soon have
“ the place.

“ Let me hear from you, what you are all about.”

Again:

“ The fort of *Sera* has fallen. I wrote that we first defeated MÍR
“ HYDER, who was encamped on the outside, and took his guns. In
“ short, by the favour of God, much has been accomplished in a short
“ space of time. The MÍR (MÍR HYDER) has engaged to enter the
“ Mahratta service. He is to have a *jagír* (an estate), yielding five lacs
“ annually. He has been negotiating some days for the surrender of the
“ place; and having given it up, has now consented also to take the *jagír*.
“ The districts lately placed under his control are to be occupied by our
“ own people; and he is to serve with our head-quarters. He has consented
“ to send for his family, which is to reside at Poona. His *jagír* is to
“ consist of districts, half in this part of the country and half near
“ Poona.”

“ 16th April 1767.

“ The fort of Oscotta has fallen. It is a strong place. This, with other
“ districts occupied, yield an annual revenue of twenty-five lacs of rupees.

“ The MÍR has recovered also the districts which our government
“ formerly held in the vicinity of Gurumcōnda. The territory yielding
“ five lacs, held originally by MORARÍ RAO, with all his forts, has also
“ fallen to our troops again; so that *Jugdīu* is now the only Mahratta
“ district which we have not got back again.

“ Hitherto we have been solely occupied in military operations, securing
“ the country ; but not one rupee of cash has been raised on it. The
“ tribute due from Harponelly and other places, however, has been realized,
“ and I have obtained eight or nine lacs of rupees more, by bills. The
“ main objects of the war have been nearly accomplished, and very little
“ remains to be done. HYDER KHAN, however, still possesses his own
“ original country untouched.

“ With regard to our future operations, this is the state of the case. It
“ was originally agreed on, that the Nawab NIZAM ALI KHAN should march
“ and co-operate with our troops. He still writes he is coming, coming.
“ This is in the true Mogul style, ever slow and lazy to the last. I have
“ recovered for him Banu and other places belonging to BESALET JENG,
“ who from being formerly connected with HYDER, and being at present in
“ the NIZAM’s camp, favours the enemy by throwing obstacles in the
“ advance of the Nizam’s army, and by endeavouring to persuade his
“ brother, that more will be attained by negotiating than by fighting. The
“ NIZAM however has actually left Raidrúg, and is I believe advancing at
“ last. Were it not for RUKM-UD-DOWLA (who is an excellent person) all
“ our affairs in that quarter would go wrong. We must contrive to keep
“ him on our side and in good-humour, and entrust all our concerns to him
“ alone. Had the Nizam co-operated with us at first, we should have con-
“ cluded the business before this time. Had he even declined to do so, we
“ could have continued our own operations without reference to him ; but
“ as it is, we are hampered owing to the delay. There is no probability of
“ the Nizam uniting with HYDER against us ; but the latter, calculating that
“ both our armies will not remain here during the monsoon, seems hanging
“ back to see with whom he may negotiate with most advantage in the end.
“ He has promised to pay the *peshkush* (a sum of money) to the Nizam, on
“ condition of his breaking off his alliance with us ; and to me he engages to
“ pay down thirty lacs of rupees if we relinquish the territory we have
“ recovered ; but the forts we have taken are strong, and if they are given
“ up, we shall not take them again so easily. Of these, some are hill-forts,
“ which we must not relinquish. This is the point for which I am at present
“ contending. HYDER is aware that the Nizam is advancing, and has some
“ apprehension on that score ; still I do not think peace is likely to be con-
“ cluded immediately. If HYDER is to be farther reduced, we must take
“ Bangalore, and even advance on Seringapatam. At all events we must

“ now carry the thing through ; yet, as the rains are so near, the time will
 “ hardly admit of our attempting both objects at present. Meanwhile you
 “ must contrive to raise twenty-five lacs of rupees for our necessities ; for,
 “ even should peace be concluded, the payments of cash will only be made
 “ by instalments, and we want twenty-five lacs as soon as possible. I
 “ propose leaving GOPAL RAO RASTIA with fifteen thousand men in this
 “ quarter, to maintain the impression already made, and to preserve the
 “ places we have occupied. The twenty-five lacs of rupees, however, must
 “ be supplied by you, although it would certainly have been more convenient
 “ if we could have reduced Bangalore, and compelled HYDER to pay the
 “ expenses of the war at once.”

The following treaty was concluded a few days afterwards, and is in the
 handwriting of HARI PANT FARKIA, the officer who subsequently com-
 manded the Mahratta army, which joined the Marquess Cornwallis in 1792,
 at Bangalore :

“ Memorandum : Money payments.

“ Tribute ; net.....	Rupees 28,00,000
“ Durbar <i>khurch</i> , or fees	2,00,000
“ Sundries	1,00,000
	<hr/>
“ Rupees	31,00,000
	<hr/>

“ Payable by instalments :

“ To be paid at present	16,00,000
“ ——— in July (through bankers)	7,50,000
“ ——— in October (ditto)	7,50,000
	<hr/>
“ Rupees	31,00,000
	<hr/>

“ Articles of the treaty concluded :

“ *Article 1st.* Of the country conquered by the Mahrattas in this cam-
 “ paign, the following districts are to be restored to HYDER NAIC :

“ 1st. Chick Balapore, including forts.

“ 2d. District of Colar.

“ 3d. District of Dewanhully.

“ *Article 2d.* HYDER is to retain possession of the following districts for-
 “ merly taken from the Mahrattas :

“ 1. Buswapatam.

“ 2. Boindyall.

“ 3. Judgeu.

“ *Article 3d.* HYDER is to be permitted to retain, without molestation,
“ the following districts taken from the Poligars :

“ 1. Hingulwarri.

“ 2. Mergesy.

“ *Article 4th.* The Mahrattas are to retain all the districts which they have
“ recovered, belonging to MORARI RAO GHORIPORIA ; and HYDER agrees to
“ restore the remainder still in his possession.

“ *Article 5th.* HYDER is not to molest those officers who reside in the vicinity
“ of Sera, nor the Poligars, who have assisted the Mahrattas, nor the Mir of
“ Gurunconda, for the share they respectively took in this campaign.

“ *Article 6th.* The Nizam is to receive the arrears of *peshkush* (tribute) for
“ the last three years, *viz.* Rupees 18,00,000 (£180,000), at the rate of six
“ lacs of rupees annually ; credit being given by him for what he may have
“ already received. The remainder is to be paid as follows : half to be paid
“ down at once ; the balance in six months from this date.

“ *Article 7th.* The *Srirangi* temples are to be supported, and the *Sewani* (or
“ religious superior) is not to be molested in any way, whether he go there
“ or not.

“ *Article 8th.* TAMANA NAYAK, CRISHNAPA NAYAK, and the Harponhully
“ Brahmans, are to be released from confinement.

“ *Article 9th.* The village allotted for the support of the temple of
“ *Gokun Mahables'war*, by DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA) in 1765 (on the occasion
“ of the last treaty), is to be restored.

“ *Article 10th.* The Mahrattas are not to molest HYDER ALI KHAN'S
“ officers, whether Mahrattas or dependents of MORARI RAO, for the part
“ they may have taken in the present campaign.

“ *Article 11th.* HYDER ALI KHAN promises to cause to be regularly paid
“ all charitable and religious stipends to Brahmans and temples within his
“ own territory, according to established usage, and not to molest the
“ Hindus on account of their religion.

“ Presents are to be mutually interchanged through the agency of the
“ respective ambassadors after the ratification of this treaty.”

The allies now retired to their capitals: but it is remarkable, that, in the

whole of these letters, no allusion is once made to the English, although it is said by our historians that they were included in the offensive alliance against HYDER.

It will be recollected, that, after the campaign against the Raja of Nagpore in 1766, and previously to the coalition of the Peshwa and the Nizam in 1767 against HYDER, RAGOBA had obtained the command of a separate army, with which he proceeded to Malwa, accompanied by MULHAR RAO HOLKAR, a chief with whom it has been shewn he maintained a close and friendly intercourse. What were his ultimate views, did not at first appear; and at all events they were for the present obstructed by the death of MULHAR RAO, and the accession of a silly young prince, his grandson, MALLÍ RAO, who did not long survive his predecessor, but died in March 1767, leaving no heirs. At his death his mother, the celebrated AHILYA BHIYE, became the sole representative of the family. HOLKAR's minister GANGÁDHAR YESWANT made interest with RAGOBA, then on the spot, to procure a child to be adopted as HOLKAR's heir, a measure which was resisted by the Dowager AHILYA BHIYE. The correspondence of this year commences, however, before these events, but leads on to them.

MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS, in his own hand.

“ 6th of January 1767.

“ I received your letter enclosing that from BAJÍ GOVIND. I am very
“ anxious for news from that quarter (Malwa). You must write to BAJÍ
“ GOVIND therefore to let me hear constantly every thing that occurs, but
“ in such a manner as to prevent a certain person knowing that he commu-
“ nicates with us at all.

“ Let me hear what has been the result of the orders to the commanders
“ of the garrisons and to the district officers : also how his (RAGOBA's) officers
“ are disposed towards him : how he is satisfied with them, and how he
“ treats them : the same with respect to his ministers and men of
“ business.

“ Who is the minister at present, and who possesses his confidence most ?
“ In what direction are his next movements to carry him ? What are his
“ ultimate views, and what his present intentions ? Does he talk of return-
“ ing to this quarter ? Let BAJÍ PANT ascertain all these points minutely ;
“ and let me hear very frequently. Write to BAJÍ PANT, and tell him to
“ send his communications through you.”

From the same to the same.

" 9th of March 1767.

" I hear that GOPAL GURISH BHARVI is to be deputed on a secret mission
" to the Nizam by ANANDI BHYE (RAGOBHA's wife) from Nasuk. Look to
" this, and endeavour to intercept him, and secure any papers he may
" have."

The following extract of a letter from the same to the same is on the
subject of RAGOBHA's movements :

" 26th of March 1767.

" I wish you to procure more complete information of my uncle's move-
" ments and intentions, through BAJI PANT. I hear he has two plans : the
" one is, to come back to Anandivalli (where his wife resides); and the
" other, to return to Poona. I will let you know, when I hear for certain,
" on which he resolves. Do not let any body know the contents of this
" letter, but tear it after perusal."

From the same to the same.

" I hear that my uncle DADA SAHIB is coming instantly to the Deccan,
" from Hindustan. I wrote to you before to desire GOVIND SIVARAM (one
" of the ministers at Poona) to meet him; but I have reports that some of
" HYDER's sailors have landed on the coast, and are plundering in the
" Concan. If this be true, I shall not be satisfied unless GOVIND SIVARAM
" goes as far as Vidyadurg, and makes every thing secure in that quarter.
" Yet, in case my uncle is coming immediately from Hindustan, he must
" go and meet him in preference. The question therefore now rests on the
" immediate approach of my uncle. If he should have reached the Ner-
" budda river already, on his way south, let GOVIND SIVARAM be instantly
" despatched to his camp; but if not, let him go to the Concan. Explain
" my wishes to GOVIND SIVARAM, and let me know what takes place. I
" enclose a short letter for him, which you can deliver.

From the same to the same.

" 22d of April 1767.

" I hear that one BABU RAO SADASIVA is in the habit of writing confi-
" dential letters, reporting every thing to my uncle. It is necessary to take
" precautions on this subject, and if possible, to intercept some of the
" correspondence. I understand BABU RAO resides at present at Toka (a
" town on the Godaveri, a hundred miles north of Poona), and I forward

“ to you a letter from DEVÁNDA MADHU of Dowlutabad, which will give you
“ every information necessary to enable you to act in this conjuncture of affairs.
“ Let GOVIND SIVARAM also be informed of this channel of communication.”

From the same to the same.

“ 25th of April 1767.

“ I must have more frequent information relating to my uncle. I have
“ therefore sent JOTÍ CRISHNA from hence to Burhanpur, and attached
“ several camel messengers to him, by whom he will send me news daily.
“ I beg of you also to write all that you may hear. I formerly wrote to
“ you to send GOVIND SIVARAM to my uncle, and I conclude he is gone ;
“ if not, let him go forthwith.

From the same to the same.

“ I do not hear now of what my uncle is doing. I write to you con-
“ stantly on this subject, but you do not manage the intelligence depart-
“ ment well. Have a post established for the purpose, so as to admit of
“ my hearing constantly. Have the post established even from beyond
“ Burhanpur. I trust GOVIND SIVARAM has left Poona long ago ; if not,
“ you have managed famously, truly ! You know I have written frequently
“ that he might go ; but as yet I have no intimation of his having actually
“ gone. Surely this is very strange.”

The following letter from DADOBA WAGOLÍKAR, the Peshwa's agent at Indur, to NANA FARNEVÍS, shews the state of affairs at Malwa. The original letter having been forwarded to MADHU RAO in camp, the copy extant is in NANA FARNEVÍS's hand-writing :

From DADA WAGOLÍKAR to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 22d of March 1767.

“ His Highness MADHU RAO sent me to reside here ; but the chief
“ (MALLÍ RAO HOLKAR) died on the 10th of March. Both his widows went
“ with him (burned with his corpse).

“ The Dowager AHILYA BHYE alone is left. The estates are large. She
“ talks of retiring to Benares. The minister, GANGÁDHAR YESWANT is here,
“ but his son DADAJÍ GANGÁDHAR is with his Highness RAGOBA DADA in
“ this quarter. The minister's son writes, that as his Highness intends to
“ resume the estates, the dowager and the minister ought immediately to
“ go to his Highness's camp, and make up their minds to pay him a large
“ fine to be allowed to hold them.

“ He urges this step very strongly, and assures his father that he will
 “ take care to prevent any opposition to the continuation of the estates
 “ from the other quarter (meaning on the part of the Peshwa). DADAJÍ
 “ GANGÁDHAR writes to his father to rely entirely on the interest at his
 “ Highness RAGOBA'S head-quarters. Such is the nature of the letter
 “ written by the minister's son. It is clear therefore that their views are to
 “ settle the affair here, and only to keep up appearances with you.

“ For myself, you know I am but a humble individual, and merely
 “ represent this for the information of his Highness the Peshwa. I have
 “ no one to look to but yourself, whose influence with his Highness is
 “ notoriously greater than that of any one beside. Pray write to him, and
 “ forward this letter to him. I could not venture to send it the whole
 “ distance to his camp, for fear of its miscarrying, so I beg of you to
 “ despatch it by an active camel messenger by express.

“ Such were my orders, and I was directed to communicate them to no
 “ one but yourself. I enjoin you by the most sacred oaths, not to reveal
 “ what I have written.

“ I hope your Excellency will not be offended at the liberty I take when
 “ I suggest that HOLKAR'S estates in the Deccan may be resumed for the
 “ present; this measure will, I think, promote the good of his Highness
 “ MADHU RAO'S affairs. If you cannot venture on such a step yourself,
 “ you might wait till you receive an answer, when there will be no respon-
 “ sibility with you, and you can have nothing to be apprehensive of.

“ Send on this letter quickly. I have done my duty: the rest remains
 “ with you.”

This letter must have reached MADHU RAO about the time of his forming the treaty with HYDER, and in the midst of other important business. His agent at Indur had formerly written to him, that he might under any circumstances rely on HOLKAR'S minister GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, and his son, as being attached to his interests in preference to those of his uncle; but the object of the minister in effecting the adoption of an infant through RAGOBA'S power in Malwa, and thus securing to himself the sole administration of the HOLKAR estate, seems to have made him change his party.

The reply to the letter of NANA FARNEVÍS, forwarding the foregoing document, conveys a good idea of the deliberation the young Peshwa observed in his conduct towards the chief families of the state.

From MADHU RAO, in his own hand, to NANA FARNEVIS.

“ I have received your letter, enclosing that of DADOBA WAGOLÍKAR.
“ We must not resume any of the HOLKAR estates in the Deccan at present,
“ for many reasons. In the first place, if we were to incur the expense,
“ we ought to be reimbursed in ten or twelve lacs of rupees at least ; but
“ as the season for making the collections is over, we shall obtain nothing :
“ secondly, the measure will give great offence to my uncle, who will con-
“ clude it is done because the HOLKARS negociated with him : thirdly,
“ GANGOBA (GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, HOLKAR’s minister) will immediately
“ conclude that I am personally hostile to him and the HOLKARS, which
“ will decide him in throwing himself at once into my uncle’s arms. These
“ are the motives which induce me not to resume the lands in the Deccan.
“ Were ten or twenty lacs of rupees to be gained, we might overlook the
“ obstacles I mention ; that not being the case, and there being no advan-
“ tage equivalent to the inconvenience arising out of the measure, I did
“ not think it necessary to reply to your letter before.

“ In answer to DADOBA WAGOLÍKAR, you need assign no reasons, but
“ simply say, ‘ What has become of all your fine promises regarding GAN-
“ ‘ GOBA’s attachment to us ? He may, of course, act as he thinks proper.’

“ Let the style of your letter to him be formal and impressive. You may
“ also go on to say, ‘ You have always written to say GANGOBA was devoted
“ ‘ to us, and this we have not forgotten. Be it so : we shall see how matters
“ ‘ turn out. You have been evidently acting a part for your own interests.
“ ‘ Very well.’

“ GANGOBA will of course hear the contents of your letter ; never mind :
“ there is abundance of time to punish those who systematically deceive us.
“ Tear this letter.”

The struggle at HOLKAR’s court was between the Dowager AHILYA BIYE and GANGÁDHAR YESWANT. The former finding such powerful opposition to her claims, applied secretly to the Peshwa to confirm the estates on her ; while the minister, in conjunction with RAGOBA, wished for the adoption of a boy, in order to preserve the management of affairs in his own hands. The latter object being defeated, RAGOBA resolved to march southward, accompanied by all the great chiefs, with the avowed intention of demanding from his nephew a division of the empire, retaining in his own hands all the country north of the Godaverí, and permitting his nephew to manage uncontrolled all that lying to the south of that river.

MADHU RAO resolved to resist this plan, and employed his emissaries in his uncle's camp to counteract his schemes; and NARO SANKAR RAJA BEHADUR, one of RAGOBA's principal dependents, was gained over to the side of his nephew.

RAGOBA's irritability of temper frequently disgusted his chiefs; and his liberality and profusion, though it secured the affection of his troops, usually involved him in pecuniary difficulties, as has been before shewn; but his situation was particularly embarrassing on the occasion of his return from Malwa. Having exhausted all the available resources in that quarter, he brought an army, with its pay in arrear to the amount of twenty-five lacs of rupees (£250,000), to the Deccan, and several of his chief officers disgusted: the project of claiming a division of the authority of the state was therefore more easily formed than carried into effect.

In the month of July MADHU RAO reached Poona, and RAGOBA was on his march to the south, as appears by the following letter from NARO HARI (an officer in Candeish) to the Peshwa MADHU RAO.

“ 24th of July 1767.

“ I arrived at Raweri near Burhanpur, and waited there in order to join his Highness DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA), on his return from Hindustan; but he took the route of Sindwa, by which he entered Candeish. I was therefore unable to join him before he reached Nere, on the Panzur river, from whence his Highness proceeded by the route of Mulhere, Tengora, and Dhuruss to Nasuck. Upon my informing him that I had collected and paid the revenues of the *Battí* claims to your Highness, DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA) became very angry with me, and said, ‘ never mind, you will have to pay them to me at last.’ ”

NARO SANKAR RAJA BEHADUR, in his own hand, to MADHU RAO BULAL.

“ 22d of July 1767.

“ I have seen GANGÁDHAR PANT, who was sent here by your Highness, and received many kind assurances of your favour from him. God knows how much I am delighted: it is highly gratifying to me and worthy of yourself, to recollect your old servant. I am entirely devoted to your Highness's interests, and am only desirous of proving it. I have communicated unreservedly to CHIMNAJÍ MANKES'WAR, who will represent what I have said to your Highness. You may rely also on what GANGÁDHAR PANT will report, as quite true: as God is my witness.”

Letter from GOPAL RAO PATWARDHEN of Mirch, in his own hand, to
MADHU RAO Peshwa.

“ 5th of August 1767.

“ I shall take the earliest opportunity of joining your Highness at Poona,
“ and I shall direct my troops to follow me as you wish, by a few dropping
“ in at a time in succession, till all my division arrives.”

MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVIS.

“ 4th of September 1767.

“ ABA HASHEMNEVIS (superintendent of the garrison militia), the deputy
“ of CHINTO VITTEL (RAGOBHA's minister), told me when I was at Poona
“ that, if it was desirable, he could procure the forts of Asir and Ahmed-
“ nagar to be delivered into my hands. At that time I did not deem
“ it necessary to avail myself of his offer, but I should like to do so now.
“ You must therefore speak privately to ABA HASHEMNEVIS on this subject,
“ and secure these forts: if he hesitates, and says he has not the same
“ means of obtaining them as formerly, you must tell him at once plainly
“ that I shall suspect him of having deserted my interests to espouse those
“ of my uncle.

“ Regarding the fort of Sewnere, VISAJI PANT and NARO TRYAMBAK
“ DESMUKH talk of making it over to my uncle. Desire them for the
“ present to make some excuse for delaying to do so till after he and I
“ have met.”

GOVIND SIVARAM to NANA FARNEVIS.

“ Singwa, on the Godaveri, 2d of September 1767.

“ Having gone to his Highness RAGOBHA's camp, and remained there three
“ or four days, and communicated my business, I am thus far on my return
“ to join his Highness MADHU RAO.

“ His Highness RAGOBHA has sent CHINTO ANNUD to accompany me, and
“ by the blessing of God, their Highnesses will soon meet.

“ It is to be hoped that matters will then be accommodated. At present
“ they are very bad.”

MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVIS.

“ Rahuri, 9th of September 1767.

“ CHINTO ANUND and GOVIND SIVARAM have come here and stated what
“ my uncle's intentions and wishes are. Among other proposals are, that he
“ insists on my going to meet him with only five hundred men, and that he is

“ not to cross the Godaveri or the Dharna, but to remain in his camp with
 “ his army and guns. Why should I take five hundred men with me? If
 “ I am to reign, ten attendants will be sufficient; if not, what would be
 “ the use of twenty-five thousand men? With these feelings therefore I
 “ shall go on, and he may act as he thinks proper. It is very likely I may
 “ be doing wrong; but that which is ordained by God must of necessity
 “ happen. Misfortune may befall me; but go I will, whatever be the con-
 “ sequence. Do not shew this letter to any one. I depend much on
 “ SÉWACRAM PANT.”

The result of this determination being made known to RAGOBÀ, he wrote the following letter to his nephew, in his own hand.

“ 9th of September 1767.

“ Write to me when it will be convenient for us to meet. In case you
 “ have any troops with you, do not keep them behind, let them all come
 “ on. Do not come alone. Our meeting on this occasion should take
 “ place in proper state. It is long since we saw each other. Do not delay.

“ To-morrow will be Wednesday, and would be a good day, but the
 “ meeting cannot take place. Friday, however, will answer as well.

“ P.S. I send fourteen Kowli oranges and thirty-three ripe plantains, by
 “ the camel messenger who conveys this letter, of which I beg your
 “ acceptance.

“ Despatched Tuesday evening.”

MADHU RAO, in his own hand, to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 9th of September 1767.

“ If NARO PANT DÉSMUKH effects the business at Sewnere,* a public letter
 “ may be written to him, giving him authority to act, but not till he
 “ accomplishes the object.

“ I have directed VISAJI PANT LILLI's attention to the same point, and if
 “ they can be brought to co-operate, so much the better.”

MADHU RAO (written by his secretary HARI PANT) to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 12th of September 1767.

“ Your letter regarding Sewnere has been received, stating that you
 “ require official authority to occupy it previously to the arrival of the
 “ regular infantry from my uncle's camp. At present it is not adviseable to

* This expression alludes to the occupation of Sewnere by RAGOBÀ's troops.

“ do any thing. We must wait till we see how matters turn out here.
“ Some troops have been sent by my uncle I know, but we have to see
“ whether they will be received into the garrison or not. We must main-
“ tain our communication with it as long as it is possible to do so.

“ You write that ABA has gained over the garrisons of Jivadhan and
“ Hurshur. This is all right. Keep up your good understanding with
“ them till it be time to act, of which I will apprize you.

“ You state that you have spoken to ABA about Asír and Ahmednagar,
“ that you write the details respecting the former, and that he has commu-
“ nicated with his deputy regarding the latter. That is also right. Do not
“ fail to let me know when you hear more about Nagar (Ahmednagar).

“ You state, as an objection to TULAJÍ ANGRIA being sent to Solapore,
“ that it is full of Vidyadrúg prisoners, and you recommend Dowlutabad in
“ preference. This is true. Let him be sent under a safe escort therefore
“ to Dowlutabad.

“ You advise me that you have sent BABU RAO CRISHNA to superintend
“ the post-office department with me, and he was to have met me at the
“ Sena river. I have seen nothing of him yet. If you have despatched
“ him, however, he must join me soon.”

From MADHU RAO, in his own hand, to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 12th of September 1767.

“ My uncle and I met yesterday : nothing beyond mere compliments
“ passed. No business was transacted.”

From the same (in the hand-writing of HARI PANT) to the same.

“ 24th of September 1767.

“ Up to this time we have had nothing but discussions ; and finding there
“ was little chance of our coming to any satisfactory accommodation, I
“ resolved to march away, and abide by the result. In the mean time, the
“ ministers on both sides induced my uncle to accept of the following con-
“ ditions, with a promise on his part to allow me the sole control of my
“ own affairs, while I agreed to treat him with becoming respect, and even
“ to consult him on matters of great importance.

“ He required for himself an estate yielding ten lacs of rupees (£100,000)
“ annually, and some forts. There would have been no difficulty on my
“ part in acceding to these terms, but it seemed to me very unlikely that he

“ would remain satisfied and quiet, even after I had fulfilled them. The
 “ delay of a day ensued in consequence ; but my ministers were of opinion
 “ that I ought to close with these conditions at once. I found therefore I
 “ had nothing to do but to give my consent, as they might afterwards
 “ reproach me, if any thing should occur. I accordingly told them to act
 “ as they chose ; and, as there was some cause for thinking that if the
 “ Mogul (the Nizam) should come into this neighbourhood, he might
 “ intrigue in that quarter, I believe I have done right.

“ These are the terms :

“ *Article 1st.* My uncle is to have an estate of ten lacs. Also twelve forts
 “ are to be retained by him, as follows :

“ Oundi Patta and its dependencies 4 forts.
 “ The Kownye district..... 5 do.
 “ Bhaskurgur..... 1 do.
 “ Multun 1 do.
 “ Trimbuck 1 do.

“ Asír, Ahmednagar, Sewnere, Satára, and all the other forts are to be
 “ placed in my possession.

“ *Article 2d.* His Highness MADHU RAO's government is to pay the balances
 “ due to the chiefs and troops on account of the late war in Hindustan,
 “ provided they do not exceed twenty-five lacs of rupees. The whole of
 “ this sum is to be paid within one year, and security to be given for its
 “ payment; when this is done, orders for the delivery of the forts into the
 “ hands of his Highness MADHU RAO will be granted in return.

“ *Article 3d.* His Highness MADHU RAO is in future to manage the concerns
 “ of his government in Hindustan, with which his Highness RAOHUNAT'H
 “ RAO (RAGOBA) is not to interfere.

“ The same with regard to Guzerat.

“ The same with regard to Gaikwár.

“ On these points, his Highness MADHU RAO is to be his own master.

“ *Article 4th.* The chiefs SINDIA, HOLKAR, NARO SANKAR RAJA BEHADUR,
 “ VITTUL S'IVADÉVA VINCHUR KUR, TRYAMBAK RAO S'IVADÉVA VINCHUR
 “ KUR, JEWAJI POWAR, &c. &c., are required to perform their accus-
 “ tomed service to his Highness MADHU RAO's government, and to abstain
 “ from all foreign and domestic intrigues ; to obey his orders, and to go
 “ wherever they may be required. On the above terms, the estates at

“ present held by those chiefs respectively shall be allowed to remain in
“ their possession.

“ *Article 5th.* His Highness RAGHUNÁT'H RAO (RAGOBÁ) is to abstain
“ from all political intercourse whatsoever with BHOSLA (Raja of Nagpore).
“ If he has business with him, it must be transacted through his Highness
“ MADHU RAO's government.

“ *Article 6th.* His Highness RAGHUNÁT'H RAO (RAGOBÁ) agrees to
“ abstain generally from all political intercourse with other states, and from
“ domestic intrigues of every sort ; and promises not to act in any way so
“ as to affect the interests of his Highness MADHU RAO's government.

“ *Article 7th.* A body of cavalry, consisting of two hundred and fifty
“ men,* are to be paid by government, and to attend his Highness
“ RAGHUNÁT'H RAO as a guard of honour.

“ *Article 8th.* No chiefs nor individuals are to be punished by either party
“ on account of the share they may have taken in the late discussions ; and
“ if they perform their duty in future with fidelity, it is promised they shall
“ be treated with favour.

“ The above articles, drawn up by the ministers on both sides, were
“ ratified by the mutual oaths of the parties themselves.

“ The detail of the cessions will be found in a separate schedule which is
“ preparing, a copy of which will be forwarded. The heads only are men-
“ tioned for your information. My uncle is now to retire to Anandivalli, and
“ after the arrival of the Poona bankers, who have been sent for, security
“ will be given for the payments, and the orders for the delivery of the
“ forts will be received. After they are in our possession I shall proceed
“ to Poona. Such is the state of affairs here. You have been desired to
“ raise men for the forts. We shall require about 1,500 who may be
“ depended on. You may now discharge such of the cavalry at Poona as
“ can be dispensed with, keeping only the Suranjam horse. Let the Poona
“ bankers be sent as soon as possible.”

The original instrument, with the seals of the parties, is dated on
the next day, the 25th of September 1767. The following document con-
tains some additional articles :

* This number, at the request of his uncle, was increased to three hundred and fifty men.

“ Memorandum. Additional requisitions made by his Highness RA-
 “ GHUNÁTH RAO, and agreed to by the Peshwa, written in the hand of
 “ each :

In RAGHUNÁTH RAO's hand :

“ Article I. In case BHOSLA (Raja of
 “ Nagpore), the GAIKWAR, or any other
 “ chiefs should have made use of ex-
 “ pressions, or conducted themselves
 “ for my sake in an offensive manner,
 “ no notice is now to be taken of
 “ what has passed. If they are guilty
 “ of high crimes hereafter, let them
 “ be punished accordingly.

“ Article II. In the event of the
 “ troops of government passing through
 “ my estates and damaging them, I
 “ am to be indemnified for the loss, if
 “ considerable. If the damage does
 “ not exceed one thousand rupees, I
 “ shall make no demand for remunera-
 “ tion.

“ Article III. If HOLKAR should
 “ plunder the districts on the Ner-
 “ budda, he shall be fined in four
 “ times the amount.

“ Article IV. When DAMAJÍ GAIK-
 “ WAR, BHOSLA, HOLKAR, SINDIA, and
 “ other such great chiefs proceed from
 “ hence to their commands, it would
 “ be gratifying to me that they should
 “ come to Anandivalli, and after re-

In MADHU RAO's hand :

“ Article I. The persons alluded to
 “ shall not be visited with punishment
 “ for any thing that has occurred. If
 “ any one should be guilty in future,
 “ he will be punished accordingly.
 “ Agreed.

“ Article II. Government troops
 “ have no business on your estates ;
 “ notwithstanding which, orders shall
 “ be issued to prevent damage. The
 “ district of Hindia may lie on the
 “ road, but precautions shall be taken
 “ to prevent damage. If it should
 “ be only trifling, it is hoped you will
 “ pass it over : if the damage be
 “ heavy, it shall be made good to
 “ you.

“ Agreed.

“ Article III. If HOLKAR wantonly
 “ plunder your districts, he shall be
 “ compelled to make restitution for
 “ the injury sustained.

“ Agreed.

“ Article IV. When the chiefs of
 “ Hindustan return, they shall be di-
 “ rected to wait on you on their de-
 “ parture, when you may entertain
 “ them for three or four days, and
 “ then take leave of them.

“ maining with me three or four days,
“ take their final leave.

“ Article V. Measures are to be
“ taken for the payment of the cash
“ within the limited period.

“ Article VI. My estates are to be
“ granted so as to enable me to rea-
“ lize ten lacs of rupees net revenue,
“ independent of fort expenses.

“ Article VII. The persons belong-
“ ing to my public departments at pre-
“ sent shall not be removed unless con-
“ victed of fraud or treason, when it
“ shall be competent for you to re-
“ place them by others.

“ Article VIII. All persons having
“ *Mokassa* claims in my districts,
“ shall be taught to look to me and
“ serve me.

“ Articles IX. Articles procurable
“ only at Poona, or at a distance, to
“ the amount of twenty-five thousand
“ rupees (£2,500), are to be sent by
“ government to me, if required, an-
“ nually.”

“ Done in camp, at Anandivalli, the 30th of September 1767.”

“ You may rely on meeting with no
“ obstacle to your wishes in this respect.
“ Agreed.

“ Article V. Measures have been
“ already adopted, and the period of
“ the payment of the instalments fixed,
“ to the fulfilment of which I pledge
“ myself.

“ Agreed.

“ Article VI. Your estates, inde-
“ pendent of fort establishments,
“ shall be calculated to yield you ten
“ lacs of rupees without deductions.

“ Agreed.

“ Article VII. They shall not be
“ removed but for some specific crime.

“ Agreed.

“ Article VIII. KEROJÍ POWAR,
“ who is bound to maintain one hun-
“ dred and fifty horse; and BANDÍ,
“ one hundred horse, are already in-
“ cluded in the agreement; besides
“ which, one hundred additional horse
“ on the same footing shall be placed
“ at your disposal; making in all,
“ three hundred and fifty horse.

“ Agreed.

“ Article IX. Twenty-five thousand
“ rupees worth of goods will be sent
“ to you annually, if demanded, from
“ the next year.

“ Agreed.”

“ Memorandum, in the hand-writing of HARI PANT FURKIA :

“ Anandivalli, 6th of October 1767.

“ The bankers of Poona having agreed to pay to DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA)
“ the sum of twenty-five lacs of rupees, this amount is to be recovered by
“ them out of the following payments due, *viz.*

“ Holkar	Rupees 9,25,000
“ Sindia	10,00,000
“ Bhosla	3,00,000
“ U'dcypúr Rana	2,00,000
“ Apají Ganésa	3,00,000
“ Basalat Jeng	2,50,000

“ Rupees 29,75,000

“ The above sums are to be allotted exclusively for repayment to the
“ bankers.”

Affairs had thus been brought to a crisis which left MADHU RAO the uncontrolled ruler of his dominions; and though it reduced the power of RAGOBA, it left him with a princely income, and with a small principality apparently well suited to his station in the kingdom. MADHU RAO, however, had all along foreseen that his uncle would not be satisfied with his condition; and we accordingly find him, in a very few months after, actively engaging in political intrigues with BHOSLA, the Raja of Nagpore; and the hopes he obtained from that quarter induced him to break into open insurrection. Besides fifteen thousand men raised for the occasion, DAMAJÍ, the Gaikwar, lent him his aid; and GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, the ex-minister of HOLKAR, was his principal coadjutor. MADHU RAO lost not a moment in marching to oppose his uncle, whose troops were defeated in a battle fought under the fort of Dhurap, forty miles north of Nasuc. On this occasion RAGOBA, mounted on an elephant, was taken prisoner, and brought, escorted by a party of horse, to the Peshwa. The young hero, instead of upbraiding him, or triumphing over his misfortunes, brought his own elephant alongside that of his uncle, and courteously handed him into his own seat, in which way the uncle and nephew rode conversing together into camp, so that the spectators actually believed a reconciliation had been effected. This was, however, impossible; MADHU RAO perceiving the necessity for limiting his uncle's power more effectually, and took measures accordingly.

GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, HOLKAR's ex-minister, had by his conduct forfeited the protection secured to him and others by the treaty of Anandivalli, concluded with RAGOBA the year before ; and we therefore find the following bond in the hand-writing of GANGÁDHAR YESWANT, dated the 18th of July 1768.

“ I agree to pay, through the agency of GOPAL RAO GOVIND, the sum
“ of twenty-nine lacs and fifty thousand rupees (£295,000), as a fine to the
“ government. Meanwhile, till the full payment is completed, I am not to
“ be liable for any pecuniary negotiations which I may be obliged to enter
“ into in order to realize this amount.

“ After paying the whole sum, if a balance of a lac or a lac and a-half of
“ rupees (£10,000 or £15,000) should remain in my hands or in those of
“ my son, the government is to allow us to retain it for the support of
“ our family. In case, however, any larger sum should subsequently be
“ discovered, either in our hands or in those of any banker or other person
“ whatsoever between Rameswur and Benares, or between Ahmedabad and
“ Attock, belonging to me, the government is at liberty freely to seize it.”

On the arrival of the Peshwa and his uncle at Poona, the following arrangements appear to have been made, according to a memorandum existing in MADHU RAO's hand-writing.

“ 26th of June 1768.

“ I. The forts and estates lately in possession of my uncle RAGOBA, are to
“ be managed in future by officers of our own government and of our own
“ nomination. Out of consideration to my uncle, however, orders shall
“ be sent in his name, and the reports shall be addressed to him.

“ II. The expenditure of the ten lacs of revenue for my uncle's use are to
“ be submitted to us, but all balances in his favour are to be credited to
“ my uncle, whose expenditure must not exceed that sum.

“ III. My uncle is to remain in Poona, and not to quit it without our
“ knowledge. If he wishes to visit the temples on the banks of the several
“ sacred rivers, he shall be allowed to do so while we remain in Poona, and
“ a proper escort will attend him, but in our absence he must not quit the
“ capital.

“ IV. The persons at present in my uncle's service are not to be molested ;
“ but no one can be permitted to remain in it without our sanction.”

The army proceeding against the Raja of Berar left Poona, probably in the latter end of 1768 or early in 1769; and the following letter from MORABA, cousin of NANA FARNEVIS, who accompanied the Peshwa, written by his orders, shews the state of affairs when the campaign was nearly brought to a close.

“ Camp, Umerkehr, 2d of April 1769.

“ I have received your letter of the 17th March. The news here is this :
 “ The Peshwa left Poona with the intention of proceeding to the Carnatic,
 “ and of availing himself of the circumstances which might arise out of
 “ the war between HYDER and the English. The army accordingly reached
 “ Serapur, when BHOSLA wrote to say he had with him an army of 20,000
 “ men ; that he had been ordered to attend the Peshwa, and to bring with
 “ him a small retinue ; but that his army was in want of pay, and would not
 “ permit him to quit. He observed, therefore, that he could not separate
 “ himself from his army, but that he should send his minister DÉWÁKAR PANT
 “ to head-quarters. His Highness the Peshwa, by calling on JAVAJÍ BHOSLA,
 “ wished to try his fidelity, of which he had great doubts ; and this conduct
 “ confirmed his suspicions. Besides, his Highness RAGOBA being at Poona,
 “ he thought it imprudent to leave his dominions open to intrigues during his
 “ absence in another direction. Moreover, he has no confidence in a third
 “ person (SAKERAM BAPU, one of the most able, but most intriguing
 “ politicians then in India). He accordingly resolved to march towards
 “ BHOSLA, and compel his attendance. For this purpose he marched,
 “ attended by a division of the Nizam's army, under RÚKN-UD-DOULA, as
 “ far as Dharur. Here we were met by BHOSLA's representative, DÉWÁKAR
 “ PANT, who made fair promises in the name of his master ; but it was
 “ thought advisable to move towards his army, which retired as we advanced.
 “ On reaching Berar, the country was laid waste with fire and sword, while
 “ BHOSLA continued flying before our troops. A light detachment was
 “ accordingly formed (consisting of twelve thousand men, under GOPAL
 “ RAO of Mirch), which went in pursuit for upwards of a month without
 “ overtaking the enemy ; and BHOSLA eventually fled into the forests (the
 “ woods of *Gondwana*) : our cavalry, both men and horses, were fairly
 “ worn out. It was once intended to besiege Chanda, but his Highness
 “ had not the proper means nor sufficient men, so that it was at length
 “ resolved to leave RAMCHANDRA GANÉS and RÚKN-UD-DOULA in Berar,
 “ and that his Highness should return. The Nizam's troops, little prepared

“ for the privations and hardships they had already endured, and unwilling
“ to incur more, became discontented, and positively refused to remain. In
“ this state of affairs DÉWÁKAR PANT (BHOSLA’s minister), who had been all
“ along in camp, remonstrated against leaving any troops at all. He
“ stated, that to form a cantonment in Berar fit to contain such an army
“ as RAMCHANDRA GANÉS must necessarily have with him, would incur an
“ expense of at least twenty lacs of rupees, which could never be repaid
“ by BHOSLA. He entreated therefore for his master, that his Highness
“ the Peshwa would be satisfied with having ravaged the country, and
“ expelled BHOSLA from it, and begged that the Peshwa would now
“ accept his contrition. His Highness, on mature consideration, was
“ induced to accede to the reasoning of DÉWÁKAR PANT, and consented to
“ permit him to quit the camp and bring BHOSLA to head-quarters, on con-
“ dition of his giving up twelve lacs of his old jagír and three lacs of his new
“ jagír, and of his paying five lacs in specie; the cessions and specie to
“ be shared equally by the allies.

“ After BHOSLA arrives, visits will be interchanged for two or three
“ days, when we shall return, as well as RAMCHANDRA GANÉS’s division.
“ The Nizam’s troops are also to go home.

“ DÉWÁKAR PANT is to accompany this army. You shall know more
“ when we meet.”

The army reached Poona at the end of May, and the aspect of affairs in the south rendered it necessary for the Peshwa to direct his attention to that quarter: among other measures of precaution, was that of removing the Carnatic infantry from the garrisons in that quarter of the country, and replacing them by Mahrattas whom he could trust. The Peshwa writes thus to his brother NARAYAN RAO, then quite a youth :

“ 5th of July 1769.

“ I request that all the Carnatic infantry in the garrisons of the southern
“ frontier may be relieved in Chinroydrug, Mudgirry, &c. &c., and their
“ place supplied by Mahratta infantry.”

But the Peshwa’s first object was to prevent his uncle being mischievous during his absence ; and the circumstantial proofs of his designs, up to the very last moment of the war with BHOSLA, were so complete, that he felt himself justified in imposing new and more rigid terms on him for the future.

The incorrigible habits of RAGOBA seemed to promise no hopes of amendment, and we are almost surprised that any terms were again offered to him ; but respect for his father's brother, and perhaps even for public opinion, prevented MADHU RAO from proceeding to the extremity of making RAGOBA a prisoner in a hill-fort. He was permitted to reside within the town of Poona, and to take exercise within its limits ; but it became necessary to restrict his excursions, and to deprive him of the power of foreign communication. To attain these ends, the draft of certain terms was made by MADHU RAO, which exists in his own hand-writing ; and the actual conditions framed by NANA FARNEVIS, and acceded to by RAGOBA, are written in the hands of that minister and the state prisoner. They are as follow :

“ Terms concluded with RAGOBA DADA at Poona.

In NANA FARNEVIS' hand.

“ I. To abstain from all political intrigues.

“ II. To abstain from writing orders or letters.

“ III. Not to ask to quit the city.

“ IV. Not to bring forward new proposals.

“ V. In case it be found necessary, on account of disturbance or other danger,—to retire, without delay, to such place as may be pointed out.

In RAGOBA DADA's hand.

“ I. I agree to do so.

“ II. I agree to abstain from doing so clandestinely. If I write letters, they shall be open to inspection.

“ III. I agree not to be importunate on this point.

“ IV. It may be necessary for me to mention trifling points, but it will remain with you to accede to them or not. If it does not seem fit to do so, you need not ; on which occasions I promise to assent to the decision without opposition. Abide only by your own engagements, and do not depart from them.

“ V. Under such circumstances, relying upon you, I shall go ; but I am only to be sent away on occasions of great necessity, and am to be quickly brought back. You are not to take advantage of this clause to

- “ VI. Not to starve yourself.
- “ VII. Not to curse us ; or to employ Brahmins to do so ; or use incantations.
- “ destroy my confidence in you. On such occasions I shall go without opposition, putting my trust in God.
- “ VI. If you abide by your engagements, I promise not to starve out of spite.*
- “ VII. I promise not to pray to God to curse you, for I shall pray for your prosperity. If you suspect me of doing the former, I am without remedy ; but neither will I do so intentionally, nor employ any Brahmin to do so. If it should be done without my knowledge, I am not to be responsible.† All will reap the fruit of their own labour : I certainly will employ no one to curse or to hurt another, excepting he be the enemy of God, and it is to such only I wish evil.
- “ In case I am ever suspected of such conduct, let the circumstances be fully investigated, and the guilty be punished accordingly.
- “ To this I agree.”

The following postscript is in RAGOBA's hand-writing :

“ I have agreed to abide by the conditions of the above seven articles, but

* This remarkable proposition requires some explanation. The most heinous crime of which a Hindu can be guilty is to cause the death of a Brahmin, and the crime would be considerably aggravated by that person being so near a relative as RAGOBA was to MADHU RAO. The imposition therefore of terms which should drive him to the desperate resolve of starvation, of which the natives of India are frequently capable, would, by implication, bring the guilt of his uncle's murder on the nephew's head ; and this article was therefore introduced to prevent its occurrence.

† My Indian friends, who assisted me in examining this collection of papers, and who were about the court at the time, say this passage was considered to allude to ANANDI BHYE, the wife of RAGOBA, who was notorious for employing magicians and enchanters against MADHU RAO.

“ after you have confidence in me from my behaviour *in the course of two or three years,** I am to be more at liberty, and to be allowed to go about if I choose. I am not to be unnecessarily restrained. I promise to abstain from all political intrigues; but in case I should be falsely accused on this head, let the facts be investigated fairly. Do not act on loose assertions.

“ 6th of August 1769.

“ P.S. The time of restraint is not to be fixed for two or three years. Let the restrictions be taken off whenever my conduct has removed all suspicion.

“ Let the time not be fixed.”

Having secured himself, as far as appeared necessary to him, against his uncle's intrigues, MADHU RAO turned his thoughts to the civil administration of his country, for which he had hitherto had no leisure. The picture exhibited by Captain Grant Duff in his history of the Mahrattas, of the exertions of this young prince and his able coadjutor RAM SASSTRÍ, to reform the judicial system, and of his finance ministers to improve that of his revenue, is as creditable to them as it is pleasing for us to reflect upon.

Of the able judge RAM SASSTRÍ, he observes: “ The prince's endeavours were aided by the celebrated RAM SASSTRÍ, a name which stands alone on Mahratta records as an upright and pure judge, and whose character, admirable under any circumstances, is wonderful amidst such selfishness, venality, and corruption, as are almost universal in a Mahratta court.”

MADHU RAO became the pupil of this excellent man, and was at one time so abstracted in theological studies as to alarm his faithful preceptor, who in a manner sufficiently indicative of his disapprobation, begged to be allowed to retire from office to Benares, in case his pupil the prince of the realm, neglected his duties to his subjects and the state by following the practices of a priest. MADHU RAO acknowledged the justness of the rebuke, and gave up that deep application to study to which he was becoming inclined.

In the finance department he had discovered many abuses, which he was gradually correcting when he received intimation that HYDER had made

* The words in italics have a pen run through them in the original, and this fact shews how RAGOBH's mind vacillated on the point of any stated time for the restrictions.

peace with the English, and not only refused to pay the tribute due, but had even levied contributions on some of the chiefs tributary to the Peshwa.

A large body of cavalry was therefore pushed forward to the frontier, and in the month of November 1769 MADHU RAO left Poona, at the head of fifteen thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry.

The progress of his arms is best shewn by his own letter to NANA FARNEVIS, received at Poona the 30th of January 1770.

“ On crossing the Tungbudra, the main army was joined by the troops
“ of DOULUT RAO GHORIPORÍ, NARSING RAO, and ANAND RAO GOPAL;
“ when leaving ANAND RAO RASTIA and GOPAL RAO of Mirch, to oppose
“ HYDER in the district of Savanore, I proceeded towards Seringapatam,
“ avoiding the districts of Harpunhullí and Chittledrug. The first places
“ occupied, on the 14th January, were Budhyal, Kimpkerrí, Humpkerrí,
“ and Chiknalhullí. There are three or four other places which must soon
“ fall. Small forts cannot stand our artillery, but those I allude to are not
“ to be taken without heavier guns. Country yielding a lac or a lac and
“ a-quarter of *huns* (£65,000) annually, has been recovered. The chief
“ of Chittledrug has joined me with five thousand infantry, a thousand
“ cavalry, three or four guns, five camel loads of rockets, and eight
“ elephants; and, moreover, promises to fight. A communication has been
“ made from MUHAMMED ALI KHAN (Nabob of Arcot), that he also will
“ afford us aid. BALARAM conveyed this intelligence. The Nabob has been
“ desired to send some respectable persons of his own, with proper
“ credentials and powers to negotiate.

“ HYDER NAIC was in the Bednore forest on the 7th January, having
“ sent his son (TIPPU) towards Bangalore. This season HYDER's field
“ equipments are tolerably good.”

MADHU RAO to NARO BABJÍ, manager of Dharūr.

“ 6th of March 1770.

“ Two or three letters have been written to you to enlist a thousand
“ infantry, and to send them on to the camp, to occupy the places as they are
“ taken. You write that men cannot be had for the purpose in your district,
“ but that you will endeavour to raise them in Sawuntwarrí. The head-
“ quarters now are in the vicinity of Nandíghur (Nundidrug), and men
“ are required to form garrisons for the newly conquered places. You
“ must contrive to procure the men and to send them to us. I trust those

“ you expect from Sawuntwarri have arrived ere this ; send them on to Sera
 “ as they come in.”

In the hand-writing of HARI PANT FARKIA, to the same.

“ 9th of March 1770.

“ Send on the new levies as soon as possible. You may go as far as nine
 “ rupees monthly pay to each man. They should for the most part have
 “ fire-arms, though a few *Pal'hákarís* (men using the double-edged broad-
 “ sword) may also be enlisted, but not too many of them.”

The health of the Peshwa declining about this time, he returned to Poona, from whence he writes a short letter to the same person on a military subject. It is as follows :

“ Poona, 15th of September 1770.

“ You may attack Durkunhullí, if you think you have the means of doing
 “ so with effect, but on no account run the risk of failure ; on the contrary,
 “ wait till I reach the place with the army which will march from hence.”

On the Peshwa quitting the army in the field, it was left under the command of his first master in the military art, his maternal uncle TRYAMBAK RAO MARNA. After the rainy season was over in Poona, MADHU RAO took the field again to join the army.

This movement must have taken place early in November, for in that month he wrote the following confidential letter. It is not difficult to suppose that the inuendoes contained in it have reference principally to his uncle and his party, though the language is by no means so plain as to give much insight into the real objects of the communication.

MADHU RAO to NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 22d of November 1770.

“ In consequence of my not having been able to see you before I marched,
 “ you were obliged to entrust what you had to say to HARI PANT. It does
 “ not in the least signify ; I know your disposition towards me, and I feel
 “ assured that you will act for me in my absence with the utmost zeal and
 “ fidelity. Professions on your part are quite unnecessary to convince me
 “ of this. You recollect there were three or four points we discussed, four
 “ or five days since, which were not to be made known to others, and
 “ which you will of course not mention. You spoke out to me on that
 “ occasion without reserve, and I replied with the same degree of con-
 “ fidence, but it must go no farther. I repeat it, this must never be spoken

“ of. Conceal nothing from me in my absence of what you may learn.
“ Write to me with confidence. Speak out boldly. Conceal nothing I
“ entreat you ; what I write to you, I shall do with perfect reliance that it
“ will not be spoken of to any one. Maintain the same good faith you have
“ ever done. I have never been so plain with any one before ; your business
“ is not now confined to one point ; I shall rely on you, not only for infor-
“ mation, but also for advice on all subjects. I feel convinced you will
“ advise what is right. A hint from you will suffice to enable me to act,
“ as I am assured you will recommend nothing but what is proper.

“ I shall frequently apply to you on points that I could not venture to
“ trust to any other person ; and as I find my confidence is repaid, so shall I
“ apply to you without hesitation. We are bound to each other by the
“ most solemn oaths to reveal nothing of what passes between us.

“ With regard to the questions I have left for you to consider, when I
“ hear your opinion I shall avail myself of any hints you may give, and issue
“ the necessary instructions.

“ Destroy this letter the instant you have read it.”

This letter is written evidently in great agitation ; several words are left out, the usual lines connecting the words are omitted, and the same sentiment is frequently repeated ; and it is altogether unlike MADHU RAO's usually clear style.

The Peshwa's health declining daily, he made but little progress towards the south ; and in the month of June 1771 he vested his maternal uncle TRYAMBAC RAO with full powers as commander-in-chief, and sent him the great seal, making him in every respect his representative in the field. TRYAMBAC RAO so completely fulfilled his sovereign's wishes that he reduced HYDER to the greatest distress, and at the very gates of Seringapatam dictated a peace in the following year, by which he obtained thirty-six lacs of rupees as arrears of tribute, and an agreement to pay fourteen lacs annually in future.

Our attention must now be drawn towards the affairs at Poona. MADHU RAO's indisposition prevented his attending to business ; and some of the ministers began to look towards RAGOBA as the person into whose hands the government might again fall in case of the Peshwa's death and the accession of his younger brother NARAYAN RAO, a youth equally irritable and wrong-headed. This state of affairs added to the anxiety of the Peshwa's mind and increased his disorder, which proved to be consumption.

The letters, which passed at this period, are full of interest, but they are in many instances ambiguous, and some of them being without date, it is not easy to place them in the series. The physicians conceiving the air of Poona unwholesome for his complaint, the Peshwa moved to Sidtek, a village a few miles from the capital, which he reached in January 1772. NANA was left, as usual, in charge of Poona, under the Peshwa's brother, NARAYAN RAO, while NANA's cousin, who was jealous of the confidence reposed in him by the Peshwa, filled the office of secretary with MADHU RAO, around whom, during his illness, all the great chiefs of the empire assembled, both out of courtesy, as well as to observe what was likely to be the result in case of his death.

Shortly after the Peshwa left Poona, NANA FARNEVIS found the young prince, NARAYAN RAO, lending himself to a party, and permitting them to assume a degree of interference in the public business, to which NANA was by no means disposed to submit. The following letters on this subject shew his feeling :

NANA FARNEVIS to MADHU RAO Peshwa.

“ Your Highness on your departure said, ‘ His Highness NARAYAN RAO
 “ ‘ will remain here in my absence ; do not imagine therefore there will be
 “ ‘ any difficulty.’ This is true : but there is a vast deal of business to be
 “ transacted, and where confidence exists there are no obstacles. This
 “ does not appear to be the case here. The reproofs, the opposition, and
 “ the delays which occur, do not originate with his Highness perhaps ; but
 “ why should I have been selected to become subject to them ? If your
 “ Highness should be absent for many months, business cannot be allowed
 “ to stand still ; but I beg of you to consider how I am to conduct it
 “ without your support.

“ I am extremely unwilling, in the present state of your health, to trouble
 “ you on such matters, but I could not on this occasion avoid it. All
 “ I wish is, that when I bring papers to receive the young prince's
 “ signature, they may be passed at once, without the intervention of
 “ other people. In case his Highness should wish for explanation, I am on
 “ the spot, and always ready to afford it. If your Highness does not
 “ feel sufficient confidence in me to admit of this, I beg I may be allowed
 “ to join your camp at once. Every thing else goes on smoothly.

“ This is what I begged of HARÍ PANT to mention, but I am not sure

“ that he has done so. Your Highness knows more of the state of the
“ case than I have mentioned. If you are resolved matters should go on
“ as at present, command me to that effect.”

Reply in MADHU RAO's hand, on the face of the letter.

“ I will communicate to you through HARÍ PANT this evening: if I were
“ to sit down to reply, I should be obliged to write a long letter, which I
“ could not do. I shall send a message therefore by HARÍ PANT.”

HARÍ PANT to NANA on the same subject.

“ I have received your letter, begging of me to state what I told his
“ Highness NARAYAN RAO, on the occasion of your being left at Poona,
“ and to mention if I had been at all equivocal in my communication with
“ him. You observe also, that you are prepared to quit Poona and
“ come to the camp. In reply to which I beg to assure you, that
“ I mentioned all you wished to his Highness MADHU RAO, and was
“ directed in consequence to wait on his Highness NARAYAN RAO, and
“ to tell him, as follows: ‘ NANA is left here to conduct the civil
“ ‘ duties of the districts; he will also write the *mukhalasí* (the con-
“ ‘ cluding line and date of all public documents), and having explained
“ ‘ their contents to you, will obtain from you the final signature of *diarí*
“ ‘ (let it be fulfilled), without reference to DADA (RAGOBA DADA is
“ ‘ probably meant). In case you have any difficulty in comprehending
“ ‘ the papers, send for NANA to explain.’ ‘ This is what I was directed to
“ inform his Highness NARAYAN RAO, which I did. What is it possible to
“ do more? I do not see what more can be done. If any thing else occurs
“ to you, let me know, and I will represent it; but I cannot perceive what
“ you can wish for more. Still I am prepared to do any thing you desire.”

MORABA to his cousin NANA FARNEVIS.

“ Sidtek, 6th of January 1772.

“ His Highness MADHU RAO's health is so much worse, that he has
“ consented to allow the *Padre* to see him.”

This was probably some Portuguese priest, who understood something of
medicine.

From the same to the same.

“ 17th of January 1772.

“ His Highness is alarmingly ill. He is better for a few days, and then

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“ relapses again into his former state. It is really very difficult to say what
 “ may happen, and how soon. He does not gain strength at all.”

This information gave great hopes to RAGOBA, who had already ingratiated himself with his nephew NARAYAN RAO, the ostensible governor of Poona. SUKARAM BAPU, already mentioned as an able ex-minister, and described as rather disposed towards RAGOBA, formed a cabal with him to vex NANA FARNEVIS, who now left Poona, and went to his master at Sidtek. We are not acquainted with what passed at this meeting, but the following familiar correspondence shews the nature of the feelings which existed between them at the time.

Letter from NANA to MADHU RAO, without date.

“ My cousin MORABA acquainted me that he obtained permission for me
 “ to proceed to-morrow. But I was sorry to perceive, when we parted,
 “ that you were out of spirits, and apparently not in good-humour. It
 “ has occurred to me since, that you have only yielded to my wish to be
 “ allowed to go ; or am I to refer your behaviour to the fact of your being
 “ worse? If I have your free permission I will go ; if not I will stay in
 “ camp, though my health requires some relaxation from business, and
 “ change of air. I shall however conform entirely to your wishes. All the
 “ current business is done with the exception of that of Dharwar. There
 “ are some important points, however, which can only be done at Poona,
 “ where the records are. With regard to the Gaikwar question, when we
 “ are both equally well-informed, there will be no difficulty. NARO APPARJ
 “ has charge of the current business of Poona, which your Highness can,
 “ if you choose, leave altogether in his hands. If any thing extraordinary
 “ should occur, I shall be always ready to undertake it if such is your wish.
 “ If not, I shall not interfere. I am anxious to proceed to Menoley * before
 “ I return to Poona, which will cause a delay of some days ; but on this
 “ point I shall be guided by your wishes.”

Reply from MADHU RAO, in his own hand.

“ I was really very unwell : it was nothing else. When MORABA asked
 “ leave for you to return, I said, ‘ Let him wait a few days, and then let
 “ ‘ him go, unless his business is very urgent, in which case he may go at

* A village near Wai, where NANA's personal estate is situated, and on which his widow still resides.

“ ‘once.’ I shall communicate to you in detail through GURUJÍ (the private preceptor and priest) and MORABA. At present the Gaikwar affair is the only business of consequence; it is nearly concluded, but it cannot be brought to a close without MORABA and yourself consulting and making the final arrangements. The other matters are unimportant.”

RAGOBA DADA became now very importunate to see his nephew MADHU RAO, who writes to NANA, on the 20th of February 1772, thus:

“ I entreat you to prevent my uncle RAGOBA quitting Poona under the plea of coming to visit me. In the first place he must again swear to conform to the seven articles last drawn up and acceded to by him, and by these he must abide.

“ I enclose the form of an oath in the hand-writing of HARÍ PANT FARKIA; which I require you to administer to him.”

Memorandum in the hand-writing of NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 23d of February 1772.

“ His Highness DADA SAHIB objects to the expression (*nehurí*) ‘permanent’ in the oath. He observes, ‘I will abide by the agreement as long as the terms are kept by the other party, and will on no account infringe it.’ He conceives permanency to be implied in that. He has no objection to swear to every other part.”

MORABA FARNEVÍS to his cousin NANA.

“ 23d of February 1772.

“ Your letter has been received, stating that you had been sent for by DADA SAHIB (RAGOBA); that he had ordered his preparations for moving, but that the lady (ANUNDÍ BHIYE, RAGOBA’s wife) had scolded well, so that RAMCHUNDER PANT and the other ministers were confounded. Who is to be afraid of her tongue? What can she do? It has not disturbed us here at all. I have represented all you wrote on the subject. His Highness the Peshwa asked me if I could be certain that his uncle would take the oath required of him. How could I say so? I wrote to you, and from your answer I perceived we should have a long correspondence if the business were negociated by letter, so it is resolved to send CRISHNA RAO. BHOSLA has reached Pyetun, and has from two thousand to two thousand five hundred men with him. He is to arrive on the 12th Mag-wud (2d March); BHAWANÍ PANT and RAMAJÍ PANT have already come.

“ MUDHAJÍ BHOSLA has seen TAHAVUR JENG, and has settled the *ghass-dana* (tribute).

“ RUMBAJÍ (RAO RUMBA) has gone since I came here.

“ His Highness the Peshwa has been worse during the last three days. He has been frequently delirious. He is sometimes better, sometimes worse. No one knows how to treat his case ; HUKÍMJÍ (a Muhammedan physician) has therefore been sent for. He is reputed clever as a physician and a chemist. His Highness intends moving to Tewur on the 25th February. We shall see whether he will or not.”

MADHU RAO to NANA ; written by HARÍ PANT FARKIA.

“ 15th of March 1772.

“ You write that my uncle sent for you, and said that Saturday was a good day for coming here ; that he gave orders to have his equipage ready ; that he wants the horse-carriage (an English coach) to be sent for him ; that as CRISHNA RAO was gone, he had fixed on Saturday or Sunday, and that you would move with him or not, according to the reply from hence : that if he did come on that day he was desirous I should go and stay a few days at Poona, after which he would like to go to the Godaveri ; also that if the day fixed was not agreeable to me, he had no objection to the 28th of March, thirteen days hence.

“ Saturday is the day fixed on for BHOSLA's taking leave ; so that day is disposed of. The following day is lucky for both—before eight o'clock in the morning for me, and till sunset for him ; but as it is not so for me, it will be better we should meet before eight in the morning. If he accedes to this arrangement, let me know, and you can come with him at once.

“ The horse-carriage is sent, according to his wishes ; also an elephant and *ambarrí* (the latter is a seat with a royal canopy over it), besides two of my own riding horses. Tell him so. Let me have an answer before noon to-morrow. If he reaches Kowrí before eight o'clock on Sunday, it will do. If he is later we shall miss the time. You will of course take care that a suitable escort, both of cavalry and infantry, attends him. In case he should object to this arrangement, the meeting may be put off till the 28th March.”

MORABA FARNEVÍS to his cousin NANA FARNEVÍS.

“ 16th of March 1772.

“ You write, that in consequence of urgent affairs, you shall not be able
“ to accompany DADA SAHIB, and beg to be excused. I am instructed to
“ say you are permitted to remain. NARO PANT and JENARDHUN RAM are
“ to accompany him. Make proper arrangements, though you do not come
“ yourself.”

From the same to the same.

“ 29th of March 1772.

“ His Highness has been very ill for the last few days, so that no business
“ could be done on Sunday with DADA SAHIB (his uncle). They are to
“ meet on Friday. His Highness is, I think, worse to-day, and is extremely
“ weak. He has been prevailed on to be weighed.* BHOSLA marched this
“ day. He goes first to Jejuri, and then returns home. He is now at
“ Balapur. On his taking leave, three guns, besides elephants and horses,
“ were presented to him.

“ When you have leisure, come over here.”

During the rainy season between June and September, the Peshwa's health improved. As no later letters, however, have been found by me than the last which has been recorded, we are left in doubt as to the turn affairs took after the meeting of the uncle and nephew. The Mahratta historian, Grant Duff, observes:† “ As the health of his nephew declined, RAGHUNATH RAO (RAGOBA) began intrigues with HYDER ALI and the Nizam, in order to obtain complete enlargement, and secure his succession as Peshwa. The correspondence was intercepted by the ministers, and nineteen persons were sent into hill-forts; and the confinement of his uncle would have become more rigid than ever, but MADHU RAO perceiving his death was certain, interposed, and observed it was natural for his uncle to desire his liberty.” He also states, that “ RAGHUNATH RAO was sent for to Tewur; that a reconciliation took place, and MADHU RAO, in presence of SAKARAM BAPU (whom he had reinstated in the office of minister), recommended his brother NARAYAN RAO, the

* In order to propitiate the gods, great men are weighed against gold, and the amount is distributed in charity.

† Vol. ii. page 241.

“ heir presumptive, in an impressive manner, to the care and protection of
“ his uncle.”

The papers in my possession do not enable me either to contradict or confirm this opinion, which, considering the extreme caution of the author in stating nothing but on good authority, is likely enough to be true.

Among those persons who were suspected of favouring RAGOBA in his intrigues was NANA FARNEVIS's cousin MORABA, and it appears evident from the letters in MORABA's hand that the former accused him of betraying the interests of his master the Peshwa. Early in the year MORABA had explained to his cousin, in the following letter, for the first time, a feeling of animosity, which had long subsisted between him and the Peshwa's private secretary HARÍ PANT FARKIA, and it seems from what ensued that he was the person who communicated his suspicion of MORABA's intrigues with RAGOBA DADA.

MORABA FARNEVIS to his cousin NANA.

“ 26th of January 1772.

“ I have received your letter regarding HARÍ PANT FARKIA. The truth
“ is, he and I have been on bad terms for the last three years; it is not a
“ misunderstanding of a single day, and it was owing to the want of
“ cordiality that has so long existed between you and I, that I have not
“ opened my mind to you before on this subject; but as I do not wish to
“ conceal it any longer, I now write to you plainly. Notwithstanding our
“ private feelings to each other, neither HARÍ PANT nor I have allowed
“ them to break out or to interrupt public business; but as he has now
“ chosen to bring the circumstance forward, I candidly tell you that I ask
“ no other umpire of our disputes than yourself, and in consequence of
“ your letter I have sent NARO PANT, who will explain how matters stand
“ between us. There is one point, however, I beg of you to dismiss from
“ your mind, which is, a notion that my quarrel with HARÍ PANT originated
“ in his being a *protégé* of yours. I call on the manes of my father and
“ mother to witness that I have never allowed this circumstance to influence
“ me for a moment. That we are not on good terms is quite true. For
“ this there are many causes, some of which I could mention, others I
“ must decline. Those concerning which I feel myself at liberty to speak,
“ I will communicate when we meet. If you suppose, however, that HARÍ
“ PANT and I can ever act cordially together, I tell you once for all, it
“ is impossible. This I can safely say on oath. But again I declare I have

“ never allowed my private feelings to evince themselves in my manners or
“ conduct towards him, nor will I ever do so. NARO PANT will explain
“ every thing you wish.”

The two following letters are without date, but they evidently refer to his intrigues with RAGOBA about this period.

MORABA to his cousin NANA FARNEVIS.

“ Your letter has been received. It is positively true then that I am in
“ the habit of communicating with RAGOBA DADA, and that at such a time
“ as the present, his Highness believes it ! During the whole period of my
“ administration, I saw DADA only five or six times, on which occasions
“ CRISHNA RAO was almost always present. If I have ever seen or com-
“ municated with him since then, I am certainly guilty. If DADA has
“ infringed the oath he took, and I have been accessory to it, let me be
“ punished in any way his Highness pleases ; or else let me go on some
“ pilgrimage, when, if you please, you may send fifty or a hundred soldiers
“ to look after me. RAGOBA DADA has been my enemy since my birth.
“ His minister, moreover, is my enemy. If his Highness the Peshwa
“ reflects a little on these facts, he will himself discover how he has been
“ deceived. Such, however, is the temper of the times. This was the
“ only thing they could find against me. It is of no use to serve a master
“ when all confidence is lost ; so I beg of you to tell his Highness plainly,
“ that he must assure me that his suspicions are removed before I
“ return. If not, let him place a guard over me, and send me to live
“ somewhere in retirement on the banks of the Godaveri. Either send me
“ word to go at once, or let me be sent for to the presence, and I will
“ come immediately.”

From the same to the same.

“ The message communicated through HARÍ PANT, you no doubt conceive
“ to be highly proper. Send one like it again, if you choose. Reflect, however,
“ before you act. Consider the person and the proofs, and do not act on
“ the word of any low fellow. But so it is. If I were suspected, you
“ might have sent for, and accused me to my face. You should at all events
“ have established something like proof before you acted, and then you
“ might have done what you chose. This would have been worthy of
“ the master you serve. Matters of this nature ought not to be done
“ hastily.”

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From the same to the same.

“ If accusation is to stand in the stead of proof, without any enquiry, what can be done? Under his Highness such has not hitherto been the practice; nor ought it to be so now. Some proof or evidence should surely be adduced. There ought to be some regard for common justice; but in this instance there is none. Very well, be it so. If you choose to send for me, do so. I conclude HARÍ PANT has told you all, but I have had no reply from you.”

From the same to the same.

“ I formerly gave the long agreement with DADA SAHIB into the hands of APPAJÍ PANT, I now send the other agreement and another paper. It can be of no use for me to retain these documents, under existing circumstances. Let me know if any thing important has occurred lately.”

Although the Peshwa was, on the whole, better during the rainy season, he by no means thought he should recover; but he availed himself of his temporary convalescence to cause his will to be drawn up by his faithful friend NANA FARNEVÍS, and it still exists in his hand-writing. The following is a copy.

“ Tewur, 30th of August 1772.

“ 1. It is my wish that the whole of the cash in deposit with MADHAJÍ PANT GURUJÍ * be applied to the liquidation of the principal of the public debt, and that the public money in hand be also applied to the same purpose.

“ 2. The inhabitants both of the Concan and the Désh (upland country) have suffered much on account of the revenues being farmed. I therefore desire that those persons who have sustained injury by this measure, may be indemnified, after a minute investigation of the abuses which have taken place, in order that justice may be done to my subjects.

“ 3. It was the wish of my revered father to obtain possession of Prayag (Allahabad) and Benares. I have always had the same desire. It is my will, therefore, that these places may now be obtained, either by exchange or otherwise, as may be expedient.

“ 4. I beg that my venerable mother, who wishes to go to Benares to reside, may be permitted to do so.

* This person was MADHU RAO's preceptor when he was a child; he afterwards became his domestic priest; and was his private treasurer. The money in his hands was, in fact, the privy purse, which he bequeaths to the state.

“ 5. The *Kriyá*, or funeral ceremonies of BHAI SAHIB (whose body was never found at Paniput) not having been performed, they should be fulfilled in the ensuing *Magh* (February). The widow, PARWATÍ BHIYE, should be permitted to burn, if she chooses to do so.

“ 6. Let the annual charities at Benares be increased one-half, from this date.

“ 7. Let two hundred thousand Brahmins be fed at Benares on my account, and let each receive two pice (half-pence).

“ 8. Let a *jagír* of five lacs of rupees (£50,000) annual revenue be assigned to my uncle RAGOBA DADA, which may even be extended to seven lacs, if insisted on, but not more.

“ 9. Let the charities of *Sráwan-mas* (month of August), at the *Párbatí* (a temple near Poona), be always continued, even if the receipts of the government do not exceed five lacs of rupees (£50,000).

“ I swear by the holy GAN'APATÍ, that these are my wishes.” (This line is in his own hand.)

In NANA's hand :

“ I promise faithfully to fulfil, as far as is in my power, the wishes expressed in this document ; though it is possible we may require money for political purposes in the mean time. I swear, however, I will fulfil what has been written, as far as is practicable. The public debt must be paid out of the public coffers as far they go ; when, if a balance remains due, application will be made to GURUJÍ for the deposit in his hands.”

Another scrap of paper, in the hand-writing of HARI PANT FARKIA, drawn up probably by his master's bed-side, is in existence, containing notes for the above, and stating that on no account is RAGOBA's *jagír* to exceed seven lacs of rupees.

Two months and a-half after the date of MADHU RAO's will, that amiable, and I may add, illustrious prince, died, on the 18th of November 1772, in the twenty-eighth year of his age and the twelfth of his reign.

According to the ordinances of the Hindu religion, his body was burned, and his fond wife, RAMA BHIYE, to whom he was devotedly attached, ascended the funeral pile, evincing by her fortitude, in immolating herself with his body, a proof of the affection which she bore him. Her faith taught her to believe that this pious act would purge from sin the beloved object of her grief, and would ensure to them both an immediate and inseparable union in a future state.

It is, I think, impossible to read this interesting series of private documents, without confessing, that, in Europe, we are still but imperfectly acquainted with the natives of our eastern empire. Nay, I am of opinion, that until an European quits the British territory in India, where every Englishman looks on himself as a master, and on the people rather as his dependents than as his fellow subjects, it is extremely difficult for him to know much of their domestic habits, or private character.

The individuals who moved on the scene which has been exhibited in the letters I have translated, lived within our own time. Some of them even are now alive: and the facts, to which the correspondence alludes, are fresh in the minds of the present generation. It should be recollected also, that up to that period the court of Poona had had little or no intercourse with Europeans; so that the letters afford a fair sample of the materials which compose an Indian court, when left to itself. In this point of view, I consider these papers as singularly valuable and instructive; and, as historical records, very important.

I would appeal to those members of the Society, who have heard the whole of this correspondence read, whether it be the production of a barbarous or uncivilized race? Whether the sentiments expressed in the letters, or the conduct of the individuals by whom they were written, exhibit a people deficient in talent, or different in any respect from what might be expected from persons considerably elevated in the scale of human society?

It has been my lot to pass a great part of my life in familiar intercourse with the natives of the east, and principally among those who have for the most part lived beyond the precincts of our jurisdiction, and my notions of them are drawn from such sources. I have found the people, generally speaking, intelligent in a very high degree, though, from education, deficient in the knowledge of European history and sciences. They, however, are ready to admit their ignorance, and desirous of instruction. They are usually liberal in their opinions; and the Hindus especially are tolerant on the subject of religion: for though tenacious of any interference in the exercise of their own, they oppose no worship or custom which does not affect themselves. Among their domestic virtues, I should class affection and tenderness to their relatives; kindness to their domestics; integrity in their dealings with each other; hospitality to strangers; and charity to the distressed and poor. Among the upper classes I have found refined notions of delicacy of conduct and manners; and among statesmen and financiers, I

have occasionally met with enlarged views of policy, and a knowledge of the principles of statistics and political economy, that would not disgrace the ministers of any government.

I believe that at this moment, India contains natives who would do honour to any country : men who are capable of rendering themselves eminently useful to our government, not only by their intelligence and information, but by the weight which their influence would bring into our administration. They deserve to be more highly estimated, to be treated with more confidence, to be better rewarded, and to receive higher distinctions and consideration, than they usually meet with from us.

The eminent individual, who has just quitted the government of Bombay,* has endeavoured to promote the objects to which I have alluded ; and I feel confident his successor will be disposed to tread in the same path ; but, to have its full effect, the system must be general. If adopted, it seems to promise at no very distant period to bring about a revolution in the opinion of our Indian government among the natives, which it is of the utmost importance to effect. The more general employment of them in offices of trust will give respectability to the upper classes, which our present system is calculated to depress ; it will elevate that branch of society which must always carry the body of the people along with it ; it will give to it an interest in a government with which it will become identified ; and, instead of exhibiting, as at present, a body of proud and broken-down families of rank, it will raise them to a respectable station in the community, which they will be unwilling to lose ; and by giving them a greater degree of interest in the existence and welfare of the government, will strengthen it against internal commotion and foreign danger.

It would be presumptuous in me to expect that any sentiments of mine on such subjects should have much weight with the authorities with whom making these alterations must necessarily rest, even if I could venture to intrude them ; but I look upon it as one of the most happy effects of our labours here, that by the diffusion of the knowledge of the state of society in the East, and of its institutions, a general acquaintance with these subjects will be spread throughout the public in England, and that the information brought home from India will, by being communicated through the pages of our Transactions, be a means of enlightening our countrymen, and of indirectly contributing to the happiness of many millions of the human race.

* The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone.

IX. *On Hindu Courts of Justice.* By HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq.,
Director R.A.S.

Read May 24, 1828.

THE composition of an Indian court of justice, conformably with the ancient Hindu institutions, being very imperfectly understood, and many erroneous notions having become prevalent on this subject, it appears to deserve a more full investigation than it has yet undergone; and, with this view, I submit to the Society the result of a careful perusal of original authorities of Hindu law relating to that point.

The following is an abstract,* from very ample disquisitions, contained in treatises of Indian jurisprudence.

An assembly for the administration of justice is of various sorts: either stationary, being held in the town or village; or moveable, being held in field or forest; or it is a tribunal superintended by the chief judge appointed by the sovereign, and entrusted with the royal seal to empower him to summon parties; or it is a court held before the sovereign in person. The two first of these are constituted at the request of parties, who solicit cognizance and determination of their differences; they are not established by operation of law, nor by the act of the king, but by voluntary consent. The two last are courts of judicature, established by the sovereign's authority: such a court is resorted to for relief as occasions occur, and not, as the first-mentioned, constituted merely for the particular purpose.

To accommodate or determine a dispute between contending parties, the heads of the family, or the chiefs of the society, or the inhabitants of the town or village, select a referee approved by both parties.

Among persons who roam the forest, an assembly for terminating litigation is to be held in the wilderness; among those who belong to an army, in the camp; and among merchants and artisans, in their societies.

* A short extract from this treatise was communicated to Mr. H. St. George Tucker, for insertion in the Appendix to his work on the financial state of the East-India Company.

Places of resort for redress are :

1st. The court of the sovereign, who is assisted by learned Bráhmans as assessors. It is ambulatory, being held where the king abides or sojourns.

2d. The tribunal of the chief judge (“*Prád vivdca*,” or “*Dharmádhy-acsha*”) appointed by the sovereign, and sitting with three or more assessors, not exceeding seven. This is a stationary court, being held at an appointed place.

3d. Inferior judges, appointed by the sovereign’s authority, for local jurisdictions. From their decisions an appeal lies to the court of the chief judge, and thence to the rájá or king in person.

The gradations in arbitration are also three :

1st. Assemblies of townsmen, or meetings of persons belonging to various tribes, and following different professions, but inhabiting the same place.

2d. Companies of traders or artisans ; conventions of persons belonging to different tribes, but subsisting by the practice of the same profession.

3d. Meetings of kinsmen, or assemblages of relations connected by consanguinity.

The technical terms in the Hindu for these three gradations of assemblies are, 1st. *Puga* ; 2d. *Sréni* ; 3d. *Cula*.

Their decisions or awards are subject to revision ; an unsatisfactory determination of the “*Cula*” or family, is revised by the “*Sréni*,” or company, as less liable to suspicion of partiality than the kindred ; and an unsatisfactory decision of fellow-artisans is revised by the “*Puga*,” or assembly of cohabitants, who are still less to be suspected of partiality. From the award of the “*Puga*,” or assembly, an appeal lies, according to the statutes of Hindu law, to the tribunal of the “*Prád-viváca*,” or judge ; and, finally, to the court of the *Rájá*, or sovereign prince.

The “*Puga*,” “*Sréni*,” and “*Cula*,” are different degrees of arbitration, which, as is apparent, is not in the nature either of a jury or of a rustic tribunal, with which they have been assimilated ; but merely a system of arbitration, subordinate to regularly constituted tribunals or courts of justice.

I now proceed to the more detailed consideration of the composition of such courts.

In several passages of Hindu law books the members of the judicature are enumerated, but not without some discrepancy : one authority specifying so many as ten ; others eight, but in some instances, nevertheless, noticing a greater number. The difference, however, is not material.

That enumeration concerns the sovereign court, wherein the king personally presides. The composition of subordinate tribunals, with respect to its members and attendants and officers, has not been particularized ; nor are there any directions found concerning the manner in which the business of inferior courts is to be conducted, or the sittings of arbitrators. No doubt the analogy of the sovereign court would be followed, so far as applicable ; and the composition of the highest tribunal would be the type or model for the construction of a subordinate one.

A court of judicature is, in the passages which have been adverted to, likened to a body furnished with limbs ; and the similitude of the members of the one and limbs of the other is followed out to a puerile minuteness. Without regard, however, to this solemn trifling, it may be observed, that the members enumerated are : first, the king or sovereign prince ; next, the chief judge, or superintendent appointed by him ; afterwards the assessors or puisne judges, considered in the aggregate as one member, though their number ought to be three, five, or seven. The written law is to be had for reference or consultation, and is mentioned as one member ; gold and fire are also to be in readiness, for use in the administration of oaths, and are in like manner noticed as members ; as is also water, provided for refreshment. The principal officers of the court, namely, the accountant, the scribe, and the sequestrator, complete the formal enumeration. But to these must be added, other officers and attendants of the court, as the summoner and the moderator ; likewise the king's domestic priest or spiritual counsellor, and his ministers of state or temporal advisers ; and also the audience or by-standers, comprehending qualified persons, any one of whom may interpose in the capacity of an *amicus curiæ* ; and persons in attendance to keep order and prevent the intrusion of the populace.

By the Hindu institutes, the administration of justice, civil and criminal, is among the chief functions of the *Rájá* or sovereign ; not arbitrarily, according to his mere will and pleasure ; but conformably with fixed laws recorded by ancient sages, and agreeable to the established custom of the country.

He will naturally need the assistance of learned persons conversant with those laws and usages, and competent to the application of them in particular and individual cases. There is need likewise of attendants and officers to conduct the process and execute the adjudications of the tribunal. The number, functions, and powers of those advisers and attendants, as

prescribed by law, form the legal constitution of a Hindu sovereign court.

It is a topic considered and discussed in every general treatise of Indian forensic law : there is no occasion, therefore, for premising a disquisition on the authorities to which reference will be made.

§ 1. *The sovereign Prince.*

The Hindu sovereign in person hears litigant parties to redress injuries and decide their contests; or he devolves that office on a chief judge, whose duty it is to assist him when present, and to preside in his stead when absent. The right of personal superintendence is in strictness confined to the regular royal tribe of *cshatriya*, or to the *brdhan'a* invested with sovereignty : one of an inferior class, whether the third or the fourth caste, or a mixed tribe, is not qualified to assume personal cognizance of causes, but is by law required to depute a judge to officiate in his stead. On this point, however, commentators of the law differ ; some maintaining the competency of every sovereign, whatever be his tribe, for the personal exercise of judicial authority.

It is the sovereign on whom the duty of administering justice is incumbent. The chief judge, attendants, and officers, are only assistant in the trial of causes, like a stipendiary priest in the celebration of religious rites ; and they possess no proper nor original jurisdiction. It is a positive obligation on him ; and the attendance of the rest is not indispensable. The spiritual reward of a due administration of law, and the offence of its omission, concern him alone.*

Composure and sedateness of demeanour, with simplicity of dress and ornament, are enjoined, lest the suitors of the court be overawed and confounded. A sitting posture facing the east is directed for a spiritual purpose ; yet a trivial case may be heard by the prince standing ; but he should not be walking to and fro, nor lying down, nor reclining. He holds out his right arm, wearing his mantle in the manner of a scarf, as is usual in an assembly of *bráhma'n'as*, and having his hand free to make signs when there may be occasion so to do.

§ 2. *The chief Judge.*

The chief judge assists the prince when present, or presides in court

* *Sm. Chandricá, &c.*

when he is absent. The proper title of this high officer is *Pradh-vivāca*, which signifies 'interrogator and discriminative pronouncer.' He questions the parties; investigates the case; distinguishes right and wrong; awards trial; and pronounces judgment. All this is implied in the title of his office. Another designation is *Dharmādhyacsha*, superintendent of justice. It occurs in the rubrick and colophon of divers treatises on law, as the author's official designation, especially in the works of HELĀYUDHA.

The chief judge should be a *brāhman'a*, observant of the duties of his tribe; conversant with the law in all its branches; skilled in logic and other sciences; acquainted with scripture and jurisprudence; and versed in holy literature, possessing conciliatory qualities, with many attainments. He should be gentle, not austere; deliberate, patient, and placid, yet firm; virtuous, wise, diligent, cheerful, impartial and disinterested; and, above all, sincere.

But, if a *brāhman'a* duly qualified cannot be found, a man of the military class, or one of the commercial tribe (that is, a *cshatriya*, or a *vais'ya*), who is conversant with jurisprudence, may be appointed chief judge: but not a *s'ūdra*, on any account, whatever be his knowledge and qualifications. This prohibition concerns spiritual consequences regarding the king's fortunes; it does not affect the validity of the *s'ūdra's* judicial acts.

§ 3. *The Assessors.*

The assessors of the court, appointed by the sovereign to assist the chief judge with their advice, or himself when presiding there in person, are three, five, or seven, not fewer than the less, nor more than the greater number mentioned; an uneven number being required, that, in case of disagreement, the opinions and votes of the majority may prevail, supposing their capacity and qualifications equal.

They should be *brāhman'as*, versed in sacred and profane literature, conversant with jurisprudence, habitually veracious, and strictly impartial towards friend and foe; being honest, disinterested, and opulent; incorruptible, attentive to their duties, and devoid of wrath and avarice, and uninfluenced by other passions.

If *brāhman'as* duly qualified cannot be selected, *cshatriyas* or *vais'yas* may be nominated; but not a *s'ūdra* by any means. The judicial acts of an incompetent or disqualified person are void, though they chance to be conformable with the law. In the instance of the chief judge, however,

the *sūdra's* act is not void ; neither should it be deemed so in the case of the assessor.

§ 4. *The Audience.*

Writers on Hindu law reckon the audience as a component part of a court of justice ; for a bystander may interpose with his advice, as the *amicus curiæ* does in an European court.

This part of the audience consists of persons qualified to sit in court as assessors, being learned *brāhman'as*, conversant with law ; not appointed to be assessors, but attending the court of their own accord, or upon their own affairs. Their interposition is not equally incumbent as it is on the assessors ; nor is it called for, unless they possess such qualifications.

A further part of the audience consists of persons attending the court to maintain order, and prevent the intrusion of the populace. They should be *vais'yas*, that is, persons of the third tribe, either merchants or husbandmen.

§ 5. *The Domestic Priest, or Spiritual Adviser.*

The king's domestic priest is regularly a member of the sovereign court of judicature. His nomination is specifically for the one object, as much as for the other : and it is his incumbent duty to check and restrain the king from wrong proceedings, no less in judicial than in religious matters. The nomination of one such priest being sufficient, no more than one is to be appointed. He should be a *brāhman'a*, versed in science, faithful, disinterested, diligent and veracious.

§ 6. *Ministers of State.*

The ministers of state attendant on the king, are reckoned among the component members of the sovereign court ; or, the chief judge and the assessors or councillors, being selected from among the king's ministers and public servants, attend in those capacities, and are strictly members of the court.

§ 7. *Officers of the Court.*

The proper subordinate officers of the court are five, *viz.*

1. Accountant ;
2. Scribe ;
3. Keeper of claims and enforcer of judgments ;
4. Messenger, or summoner of parties and witnesses ;
5. Moderator of the court.

1. The requisite qualifications of the accountant are skill in computation, and a thorough acquaintance with every branch of mathematical knowledge, including astronomy (and even astrology), grammar, and other sciences, as well as sacred studies, and familiar knowledge of various modes of writing. He must be pure in conduct, and clearly deserving of trust.

2. The like qualifications are required of the scribe. His diction must be unambiguous; his hand-writing fair: he must be honest, placid, disinterested, and veracious.

Both these officers should be of a regenerate tribe.

3. The enforcer of judgment, and guardian of things claimed, may be a *śūdra*. He should be one who has been uniformly employed in the king's service; firm in conduct, but strictly obedient to the judges of the court. His functions are, the custody of things in dispute during the pendency of the cause, and the giving effect to the court's judgment.

4. The messenger, or king's own officer, is one who has been long in his service, but is placed by him under the control of the judges, for the duty of summoning parties, holding them in custody, and seeking and calling their witnesses.

5. Another officer is noticed, under the designation of moderator of the court, but with no other functions assigned to him besides the delivery of discourses on morality for the edification of the parties in suits, the judges, and the officers of the court.

§ 8. *Conduct of Judges.*

Passages relative to the conduct of judges, their functions and duties, are very numerous in the institutes of Hindu law. These may not be without interest, collected and exhibited together for reciprocal illustration.

It will be obvious, from the frequent notice of the direct part taken by the sovereign in the administration of justice, and the manner in which this topic is weighed upon, that both when the institutes were written in the names of ancient sages, and when compilations were made from them by later authors, whose names are attached to works received as authority in divers countries of India, the Hindu sovereigns were accustomed to preside in their own tribunals, and take a personal and active share in the discharge of judicial duties.

The obligation of impartial justice incumbent on the sovereign and the judges, is earnestly inculcated, in language forcible and impressive. Careful

investigation, a candid avowal of opinion, and strenuous remonstrance against unjust decisions, are strongly enjoined; and it appears from the whole tenour of numerous passages, that the monarch presiding in person determines the causes on his own responsibility. The assessors of the court merely offer advice, but have no voice or vote in the decision.

§ 9. *Punishment of iniquitous Judges.*

Iniquitous judges are punishable by fine, exile, and confiscation, for partiality, corruption, and collusion.

The fine is rated at twice the amount of the penalty to which the party cast would be liable; or, according to a different inference from the same law, twice the value of the thing litigated: but where this is not appreciable, the prescribed punishment is confiscation of property. This, however, is a controverted point; and the first-mentioned construction is the prevalent one. Confiscation extends to the whole property of the offender; and is awarded in a case of bribery; as is banishment also.

If the judge's iniquity be not discovered until after judgment has been passed, he is held bound in amends to make good to the aggrieved party the whole amount of his loss. Whether the cause shall be reheard, is a controverted point: one authority requiring revision of the judgment, and another directing that it shall not be disturbed, but amends made to the aggrieved party. This difference is grounded on a variation in the reading of the same text of law.

§ 10. *Court-House.*

Minute directions are given concerning the situation and aspect of the court-house, and the decorations of the apartment in which the court is held. It will be sufficient to cite authorities on these points, without going into a discussion of unimportant questions arising out of them. It matters little whether the court-room should be an apartment of the royal palace or a separate edifice: nor does it much signify what are the proper and auspicious dimensions of a building designed for this purpose, according to Hindu notions of symmetry. The east is the prescribed aspect, whether the house be a distinct one, or contiguous to the palace.

§ 11. *Time and mode of Sitting.*

There is something curious, or approaching to it, as descriptive of ancient manners, yet not differing much from the habits of modern Hindu princes, in the minute directions given concerning the time when the courts should sit,

viz. the forenoon, as most convenient; the hour at which the king should take his seat after early religious observances and ordinary preparations of the morning; the manner in which the members of the court are distributed, the king facing the east, the judges on the right, the scribe on his left, and the accountant facing him; and likewise concerning inauspicious days, on which courts should not assemble.

To this brief summary I annex a copious collection of passages relative to all points which have been here touched upon. It will be found to be full and sufficient on the whole subject, amply explaining the constitution of a Hindu sovereign court, its jurisdiction, original and appellate, and that of subordinate courts, and arbitration in several gradations. The topic is not without importance for its political bearing, as well as for illustration of Hindu manners.

APPENDIX.

§ 1. *Resort for Redress of Wrongs.*

“ BHRIGU* ordained ten or else five places for the trial of causes, where litigant parties, involved in controversies, may obtain decisions.

“ The frequenters of forests should cause their differences to be determined by men of their own order; members of a society, by persons belonging to that society; people appertaining to an army, by such as belong to the army; and the inhabitants of town [and country],† likewise by residents in both.

“ Let the heads of the family, or the chiefs of the society, or the inhabitants of the city, or of the village, select an umpire, approved by both parties.

“ The village, the townsmen, an assemblage of families, associations of artisans, and a scholar in the four sciences, persons belonging to the same class, allied families, heads of the family, constituted judges, and the king, [are the several judicatories.‡]

“ Among persons who roam the forest, a court should be held in the wilderness; among those who belong to an army, in the camp; and among merchants, in their own societies.§

“ ‘ Men of their own order,’ are persons abiding in the forest. From the term ‘ likewise,’ which occurs in the text, it appears that they who reside in a town or village and

* Or Menu, according to the *Smṛiti Chandrica*.

† *Mādḥ*.

‡ *Bhr'gu*, cited in *Sm. Ch.* and *Mādḥ*.

§ *Vṛhaspati*, cited in *Calpataru*; *Cātyāyana*, in *Vyavahāra Chintāmanī*.

in the forest or wilderness, should cause their disputes to be adjusted by residents in both ; that is, by persons abiding in the village and the forest [for they are conversant with disputes incident to both.*] The heads of the family are the chief persons among the kindred. The chiefs of the society are the leaders of a company assembled in a village, or on a pilgrimage, and so forth. The city signifies the principal town ; the village, one inferior thereto : thus there is a distinction between the inhabitants of a city and of a village. The umpire, selected by the family, &c. completes the number of five resorts. They are suited to particular descriptions of persons, as foresters, &c.†

“ An assembly is of four sorts : stationary, moveable, graced by the signet, and governed by the institutes of law ; the judges or arbitrators are as various. A stationary court meets in the town or village ; a moveable one is assembled in the forest ; one graced by the signet is superintended by the chief judge ; one governed by the institutes of law is held before the king.‡

“ The five first places of reference are adapted to particular descriptions of persons, as foresters and the rest. If a dispute arise among persons dwelling within the bounds of a village, it is determined by the inhabitants of the adjoining villages. The heads of families, the chiefs of societies, and the inhabitants of towns and villages, select an umpire approved by both plaintiff and defendant.

“ The village and the rest are ten resorts common to all. The village intends people dwelling together in the manner of a hamlet. Townsmen are the whole of the inhabitants of a town. An assemblage (*gan'a*) is a set of families ; for CA'TYA'YANA says ‘ an assemblage of families is termed *gan'u*. Associations denote washermen and the rest of eighteen low tribes. A scholar in the four sciences is a man conversant in logic and the rest of four requisite branches of knowledge. The conjunctive particle, which occurs in this place, indicates the association of such scholar with other learned persons ; for PITAM'AHA forbids the exposition of the law by one individual, however learned. Persons belonging to the same class (*varga*) are such as appertain to the same assemblage, and so forth ; for CA'TYA'YANA says, ‘ VRĪHASPATI declares, that assemblages of families and societies of heretics, companies of armed men, unions of low tribes, as well as other associated persons, are termed *varga*.’ The authority of VRĪHASPATI is cited to show, that the term was already known in this acceptance. A company of armed men is a party of persons variously armed ; for it is so explained by the same author. Families import such as are related to the plaintiff or to the defendant within the degree of *sagótra*. Heads of families are elders sprung of the same kin with the plaintiff and defendant. Constituted judges are the chief judge with three assessors. The king, assisted by *bráhmán'as*, &c. is last.§

“ An assembly, which is held in the forest or other of three situations [first mentioned] is moveable ; for, in general, it is suited to travelling. Among inhabitants of both town and country and other specified situations it is stationary, for it is not adapted to change

* *Vramitródaya*. † *Mádh*, in *Mádhavíya*.

‡ *Vrihaspati*, cited in *Sm. Ch. Calp.* and *Mádh*

§ *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Ch.*

of place. One held at an appointed spot is graced by the signet ; for it is attended by the superintendent or other officer holding the seal. But at the king's residence the court is one governed by the law ; for it is precisely guided by the sacred institutes. This distribution of courts is shewn by the same author. The superintendent is the chief judge ; for he is appointed by the king to try causes, and the royal seal is entrusted to him, that he may be enabled to summon defendants. This is implied in the text. The stationary and the moveable assemblies are specially constituted at the request of parties soliciting the meeting, with presents and other means of inducing consent ; for such tribunals are not established by the mere operation of law, nor by the spontaneous act of the king. But a court graced by the signet, and one governed by the law, are established by the king of his own authority ; therefore, to obtain a decision the court is resorted to, not constituted for the special purpose. The king's court, governed by law, is superior to all the rest.*

§ 2. *Jurisdiction original and appellate.*

“ Judges appointed by the king, assemblies [of townsmen], companies [of artisans], and meetings [of kindred], must be understood to be superior, the one to the other, in order as here enumerated, for the decision of law-suits among men.†

“ Meetings [of kindred], companies [of artisans], assemblies [of co-habitants], an appointed judge, and the king himself, are resorts for the trial of law-suits ; and, among these, the last in order is superior to the preceding.‡

“ Persons who have been fully appointed by the king, the kindred of the parties, fellow-artisans, co-habitants, and others, may decide law-suits among men, excepting causes concerning violent crimes. Meetings of kinsmen, companies of artisans, assemblies of co-habitants, and courts of justice, are declared to be judicatories, to which he, against whom judgment is given, may successively resort. A cause, which has not been thoroughly investigated by the kinsmen, must be tried by persons of the same profession with the parties ; one, which has not been well adjudged by fellow-artisans, should be revised by the townsmen ; and what exceeds the compass of their understandings, must be heard by appointed judges. The members of a court of judicature are superior in jurisdiction to the kindred and the rest ; the chief judge is superior to them ; and the king is above all, since causes are always justly decided by him : for the intellect of the sovereign surpasses the understandings of others, in the trial of the highest, lowest, and mean controversies.§

“ The spiritual parent, the master, the family, the father, the eldest brother, and the grandsire, should try controversies among men, in matters to which they are competent.||

“ Litigants who have been before a previous tribunal, resorting, whether justly or unjustly, to the king, become plaintiffs [in appeal.]¶

“ One, who had been heard before the village, may appeal to the town ; he, who has

* *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Ch.*

† *Yājñyavalkya*, 1. 30.

‡ *Nāreda*, 1. 8.

§ *Vṛhaspati*, cited in *Viramītr.*, and partially in *Vyav. Chint.* and *Dīpavali.*

|| *Vyāsa*, cited in *Mādḥ.*

¶ *Pitāmaha*, cited in *Sm. Ch.*

been before the town, may resort to the king; but one, who has been tried by the king, whether ill or well, has no further appeal.*

“ A cause, which has been tried by the kinsmen, must be revised by successive judicatures, if either party be dissatisfied, until it be finally decided by the king. But they who pass decisions in law-suits without being properly authorized, are guilty of assumption of royal functions, and the king shall inflict punishment on them accordingly. Yet persons wearing the token [of a religious profession], companies [of artisans], assemblies [of co-habitants], merchants, and bodies of armed men, should always adjust their affairs according to their own laws.†

“ Among merchants, artisans, and the rest, as well as among such as subsist by agriculture, painting, and dyeing, since a decision cannot be passed by others, the king should cause their disputes to be adjusted by persons acquainted with the principles [of their calling.]‡

“ Husbandmen, mechanics, artists, men of a low tribe, dancers, persons wearing the token [of a religious order], and robbers or irregular soldiers, should adjust their controversies according to their own particular laws.§

“ The king should cause the disputes of men who practise austerity to be settled by persons conversant with three sciences, and not decide them himself, lest he rouse the resentment of adepts in illusion.||

“ Persons are appointed to try causes, according to the situation of the people concerned: the king and the society should adjust the matter conformably with justice. So *BRHĠGU* ordains. He should cause the instruction [which shall determine the controversy] among men of the highest tribe, spiritual parents, venerable preceptors, and austere devotees, to be delivered by a person endowed with thorough knowledge.¶

“ Let not a prince, who seeks his own good, pronounce the law among twice-born men, who dispute concerning affairs relative to the several orders: but let him, after giving them due honour, according to their merits, and first soothing them by mildness, apprise them of their duty with the assistance of *bráhmaṇas*.**

“ Judges appointed by the king are persons authorized by him to try causes. Assemblies (*puga*) are meetings; companies are associations of persons subsisting by the same mechanical employments; families are societies of husbandmen. Among these, the first being superior to the last in order as enumerated, their relative authority in the trial of causes follows the same order. Therefore, when a cause has been tried by the family (*cula*), if there be suspicion that it has been ill decided, a revision by the company of fellow artisans is proper. When it has been tried before the company (*śrén'i*) the revision is by the assembly; or, tried before the assembly (*puga*), it is reviewed by the king's judges, and not conversely.††

* *Pitámaha*, cited in *Sm. Ch.* and *Mádh.*

† *Cátyáyana*, cited in the *Calpataru*.

‡ *Vyása*, as cited in *Mádh.* and *Víramitr.*; and *Náreda* quoted in *Vyav. Chint.* and *Cátyáyana*, in *Calp.*

§ *Vrihaspati*, cited in *Calp.* and *Víramitr.*

|| *Vrihaspati* and *Cátyáyana*, cited in *Calp. Vyav. Chint.*, &c.

¶ *Cátyáyana*, cited in *Calp.*

** *Menu*, 8. 390—391.

†† *Aparárca* on *Yájnyawalkya*, 1. 30.

“ An assembly (*puga*) signifies a meeting; for CA'TYA'YANA's text expresses, that a meeting of traders and the rest is termed *puga*. An assemblage of persons of different classes is a company (*śrēṇ'i*): one of persons of the same class is a family (*cula*). When these are appointed by the king for the decision of causes, the first respectively must be deemed superior to the latter; and this superiority is relative to appeal and revision. Thus, when a cause has been tried by an *assembly*, it must not be reheard by a *company*. By these several authorities causes may be tried, except such as concern violent crimes. So VRIHASPATI declares.*

“ Judges appointed by the king are members of a court of judicature nominated by the sovereign to administer justice. Assemblies are multitudes or meetings of persons belonging to different tribes and following different avocations, but inhabiting the same place, such as villagers, townsmen, or citizens. Companies are conventions of persons belonging to various tribes, but subsisting by the practice of the same profession, such as watchmen, dealers in betel, weavers, curriers, and the rest. Kindred signify meetings of relations connected by consanguinity. Of these four, namely, the king's judges and the rest, that jurisdiction which is here first mentioned must be deemed relatively ‘superior,’ or possessed of higher power ‘for the decision of law-suits,’ or trial of causes ‘among men;’ that is, between litigant parties. The meaning is, that in a cause decided by judges appointed by the king, the party that is cast cannot revive the suit before the townsmen and the rest, although he be dissatisfied, thinking the decision unjust. So, in a cause decided by the co-habitants, there is no resort to the fellow-artisans; nor, in one adjudged by them, to the kindred. But, if it were determined by the family, it may be appealed to the craft, and so forth. In like manner, if it be decided by the company of fellow-artisans, it may be appealed to the assembly; or if adjudged by the assembly, the next resort is to judges appointed by the king; and NA'REDA declares, that in a suit tried by the king's judges, a further appeal lies to the king in person. Moreover, when he is resorted to, and the appealed cause, whereon a double amercement is staked, shall be decided by the king, aided by other assessors, together with the former judges, should the appellant be cast, he shall be amerced; or if he gain the cause, the former judges shall be fined.

“ A cause tried by inferior judicatories may be appealed; but the judgment passed in a superior court cannot be reversed;† but NA'REDA has declared that a decision passed by judges appointed by the sovereign, may be reversed before the king in person. Here the mention of king sub-denotes the chief judge; for he is superior in comparison with persons appointed by the sovereign. Therefore, a decision passed by persons so appointed, may be revised before the chief judge; and one by him adjudged may be rescinded before the king. Here, on appeal to the king, when a cause upon which an amercement is staked against the first judges is tried by the king, assisted by other assessors, should the appellant be cast, he shall be fined in a double penalty;

* *S'ūlapān'i* in *Dīpācalicā*.

† *Vijnyānēs'wara*, in *Mitācsharā* on *Yājnyawalkya*, 1. 30.

but if he gain the cause on appeal, the original judges shall be fined, as the law provides. That will be explained in another place.

“ Is not the trial of causes by townsmen and the rest impossible? How then can one jurisdiction be superior to another? For it may be asked, have they power to try causes in their own right, or by delegation from the king? The one supposition is not correct; for the appointment of a chief judge as assessor and representative of the monarch, and that of the spiritual advisers, the ministers of state, and judges as assessors only, is exclusively propounded. Nor is the other supposition right; for those only who are empowered to protect the people are invested with authority of inspecting judicial affairs: others, then, cannot possess that authority in their own right.

“ It is thought that townsmen and the rest have power to try law-suits between merchants and others by the king's special appointment only, because it appears from texts of VYA'SA, VRĪHASPATI, and others, that they are appointed assessors in the mode before explained.

“ That is wrong. For if such were the case, the power of trying all causes would belong to the king and the chief judge exclusively, because no others could try suits without reference to them; and, since it is a maxim that denominations are taken from the principal object, the rule, that suits determined by kinsmen, &c. may be appealed, would be impertinent, for none could be determined by them. Townsmen and the rest could not themselves try a suit with delegated power, because it is forbidden to delegate judicial authority to *Súdras*; now the townsmen and the rest mostly belong to the servile class, and even to the lowest tribes of it, sprung in the inverse order of the classes.

“ To all this the answer is, admitting that townsmen and the rest could not themselves try suits, still, in law-suits between merchants and the like, the charge is brought by persons of that description, and the king and the judge rely on such persons in deciding the cause. Taking their acts as the chief objects, the denomination may be fitly assumed from what is done by them. For the purpose of regulating the appeal, when a law-suit is recommenced, under a notion that it was ill decided, their consecutive authority is propounded by the text: else the precept would be irrelevant:

“ But, in fact, townsmen and others, though persons to whom delegation of judicial authority is forbidden, are regenerated as to the cognizance of suits between fellow-townsmen and the rest; for a person to whom judicial power may be delegated, is not restricted by the texts of VYA'SA and others to the cognizance of certain particular charges. Their power of themselves trying causes, like the chief judge, may therefore be affirmed. Consequently there is nothing impertinent. Moreover, VRĪHASPATI supports this very doctrine.*

“ Kindred are relations of the parties. By the term ‘ and the rest ’ [in the text of VRĪHASPATI], companies and classes are meant. A company (*s'reñ'i*) is a convention of merchants, and so forth. A class (*gana*), is an assemblage of priests, &c. Members of

* *Mitra mis'ra*, in *Viramitródaya*.

a court of justice are authorized judges. The chief judge is the superintendent of the judicature. Among these, including the king, the last in order has superior jurisdiction in the trial of causes, on account of pre-eminent knowledge.*

“ The reason of the law is this: kindred and the rest, being related by consanguinity or other tie, may decide unjustly, through partiality or a like motive. An appeal, therefore, lies to the king and other authorities, on alleging, with probable truth, that the cause had been ill decided. Fellow-artisans have superior jurisdiction above the kindred, because they are alien to the parties. But townsmen, though the single connexion of a common residence exist, have superior authority, because they are strangers to the parties, with no mutual relation, since they belong to different tribes and follow other professions. Persons appointed by the king, being still less connected with the parties, have jurisdiction above the co-habitants, because men appointed by the king, after due examination, cannot be susceptible of the influence of partiality or the like motives, since they are under awe of the sovereign. Assuredly, for the two reasons above-mentioned, the chief judge, the domestic priest, and the ministers of state, have superior authority. The impartiality of the king is obviously and absolutely certain, for he is intrusted with the protection of the people; partiality would in him be a still more heinous sin; and he must apprehend the temporal and evident evils arising therefrom, such as perturbation of the people, and so forth: since it is a maxim, ‘ when the prince commits injustice, who can restrain him?’ His jurisdiction is therefore superior to all. The comparison of intellect, too, is expressly noticed in the text of VRĪHASPATI.†

“ Husbandmen, in the subsequent text of VRĪHASPATI, are cultivators of land. Artisans are painters, &c.‡

“ Husbandmen, or cultivators; mechanics, carpenters, and the rest; artists, painters, &c.; usurers, lenders at interest; persons wearing the token, &c.; *pásupata*, and other heretical sects: these and the following texts are not intended to prohibit the king’s hearing such law-suits, but to show that in cases of this kind, since the suits are brought against merchants and the like, such persons should not be excluded from the trial and decision of the causes.§

“ The trial of law-suits between persons whose resentment is formidable, should be conducted through the intervention of people belonging to the same class. The several orders are those of students in theology, and so forth. If there be a variance of opinion on the question, what is, or what is not ordained, the king, even though he enter on the inquiry, should not expressly declare the law, lest he excite the anger of the party that is foiled. First assuaging the wrath of these persons by mildness and gentle discourse, let him then inculcate their duty on them through the intervention of *bráhmaṇas*.||

“ Among twice-born men, amidst whom a controversy has arisen concerning affairs relative to the order of a householder, ‘ whether this be the sense of the law, or that

* *Váchaspati miśra* in *Vyavahāra Chintāmaṇi*.

† *Mitr. miśra* in *Vīramitr.*

‡ *Lacshmīdhara*, in *Calp.*

§ *Mitr. miśra* in *Vīramitr.*

|| *Vách. miśra* in *Vyav. Chint.*

be its true interpretation,' the king, desirous of effecting his own good, should not with violence pronounce positively what the construction of the law is. Having shewn them that honour which is their due respectively, he should with aid of other *bráhmaṇ'as*, after previously extenuating the presumption by his kindness, apprise them of that which is their duty.*

" Concerning affairs relative to the several orders, as that of student in theology, and so forth, let not the prince pronounce the law; let him not specifically declare it; let him not adjudge victory and defeat. By mildness or conciliatory discourse, soothing them, or appeasing their wrath and other passions, [let him apprise them of their duty.]"†

§ 3. *Members of a Court of Judicature.*

" The king and his officers, the judges, the sacred code of law, the accountant and the scribe, gold, fire, and water, are the eight members of the judicature.‡

" A court consists of eight members, the scribe, the accountant, the sacred code, the sequestrator of the goods claimed, the judges, gold, fire, and water.§

" The king, the appointed [superintendent of his courts], the judges, the law, the accountant, and the scribe, gold, fire, and water, and the king's own officer, are ten members of legal redress. A court of judicature is a body composed of these ten members; and such a court, wherein the king presides and attentively inspects the trial of causes, is a meeting sanctified by solemn acts of religion.

" The office of those several members is separately propounded: the chief judge is the organ of the court; the king is the dispenser of justice; the assessors investigate the merits of the cause; the law dictates the decision of the case, namely, judgment [in favour of the one party], and a fine imposed on the other; gold and fire serve for administering oaths; water for relieving thirst or appeasing hunger; the accountant should compute the sums; the scribe should record the pleadings; the king's officer should compel the attendance of the defendant and of the witnesses, and he should detain both the plaintiff and the defendant if they have given no sureties.

" Among these members of the judicature the king is the crown of the head; the chief judge is the mouth; the assessors are the arms; the law is both hands; the accountant and the scribe are the legs; gold, fire, and water, are the eyes; and the king's officer is the feet.||

" The court of judicature is a body in shape of an assembly, and composed of ten members; in which assemblage, likened to a body, the king presides as its soul. It is thus intimated, that as the soul animates the corporeal frame, so the king, presiding

* *Cullúca Bh.* on *Menu*, 8. 390. 391.

† *Lacshm.* in *Calp.*

‡ *Náreda*, 1. 16.

§ *Prajápati*, cited in the *Sm. Ch.*

|| *Vrihaspati*, cited in *Calpataru* and *Vramitródaya*. Some stanzas are transposed in the first-mentioned compilation.

over the court and its members, and inspecting all its acts, both enjoys and confers the consequent benefits.*

“ In NA'REDA's enumeration, the king and his officers are considered as one member of the court; consequently there is no reason for supposing the number of nine.”†

§ 4. *The Sovereign Prince.*

“ The king, or a very learned *brāhmaṇa* [entitled judge], shall decide the various sorts of law-suit.‡

“ Let a man of the royal tribe, who has received the investiture of sovereignty, or one of the sacerdotal class who is conversant with many sciences, ascend the tribunal without ostentation [in his dress or demeanour], and inspect judicial proceedings.§

“ The king, associating justice with himself, and devoid of partiality or malice, should thoroughly investigate the affairs of contending parties.||

“ Divested of wrath and avarice, let the king inspect law-suits with the aid of learned priests, according to the sacred code of justice.¶

“ The king should repair to the court of justice, sedate in his demeanour, and without ostentation in his dress; and sitting there, or standing, with his face turned towards the east, should examine the affairs of litigant parties; he should be attended by assessors, firm in the discharge of their duties, intelligent, sprung from a noble root, belonging to the highest class of regenerate men, skilled in expounding the sacred code, and perfectly acquainted with moral discipline. Thus calm and unostentatious, attended by the superintendent of his courts of justice, by his ministers of state, by *brāhmaṇas*, and by his own domestic priest, he should himself adjudge the gain and loss of the litigants' causes. A prince who judges the suits before him, abides accordingly hereafter in a region of bliss, together with the chief judge, the ministers of state, the attending *brāhmaṇas*, his own domestic priests, and the assessors of the court.**

“ The king himself should inspect forensic affairs, with the aid of learned priests, or appoint a *brāhmaṇa* to try causes.††

“ Let princes of the military class administer justice in their own dominions respectively; but an eminent *brāhmaṇa* should act for any other sovereign.”‡‡

§ 5. *The Chief Judge.*

“ Placing the sacred code of law before him, and abiding by the advice of his chief judge, let the king try causes with composure in regular order.§§

“ Let the king or a twice-born man, as chief judge, try causes; setting the members of the judicature before him, and abiding by the doctrine of the law, and by the opinion of the assessors.|| ||

* *Vṛamitr.*

† *Mādhav.*

‡ *Vṛth.*, expounded in *Sm. Chand.*

§ *Prajāpati.*

|| *Nāreda*, or *Yama.*

¶ *Yājñyawalkya*, 2. 1.

** *Cātyāyana.* See likewise *Menu*, 8. 1. 2.

†† *Viṣṇu*, 3 and 73.

‡‡ *Prajāpati.*

§§ *Nāreda*, 1. 32.

|| || *Vṛthaspati*, cited in *Calp.* and *Mādh.*

“ When the king cannot inspect forensic affairs in person, let him appoint for the inspection of them, a *bráhmaṇ'a* of eminent learning.*

“ By a prince, whom urgent business (or disease, or other cogent reason) prevents from trying causes in person, a *bráhmaṇ'a*, thoroughly acquainted with all [civil and religious] duties, must be appointed, together with assessors, [to examine all causes].†

“ When the king is prevented [by the exigency of affairs] from superintending the decision of causes, let him appoint a learned *bráhmaṇ'a*, perfectly conversant with sacred literature, patient, sprung from a good family, impartial, deliberate, firm, awed by the dread of another world, virtuous, diligent and placid.‡

“ Of him who neglects employing regenerate men, and inspects forensic affairs with persons of the servile tribe, the kingdom totters, and his wealth and power pass away.§

“ [The king should administer justice,] or appoint a *bráhmaṇ'a* to try the causes.||

“ A *bráhmaṇ'a*, supported only by [the profession of] his class, or one barely reputed a *bráhmaṇ'a*, may at the king's pleasure interpret the law to him; but not a *s'údra* by any means. Of that king, who stupidly looks on while a *s'údra* decides causes, the kingdom itself shall be embarrassed, like a cow in deep mire.¶

“ He [the judge] interrogates, and is therefore the interrogator (*prát'*); and he discriminates, and is consequently the discriminator (*viváca*).**

“ Because, having inquired the transactions relative to the matter in dispute, he carefully investigates the merits of the suit, with the assessors; therefore is he called the chief judge.††

“ He inquires the question whereon the law-suit is founded, and is thence named the interrogator; and because he examines into it, he is termed the chief judge.‡‡

“ In a controversy, he inquires the question which is agitated, and the answer which is given: having interrogated the parties with gentleness, he pronounces judgment, and therefore he is called the chief judge.§§

“ The most momentous of all obligations is the declaration of the truth to the judge [who interrogates].|||

“ Being conversant with the eighteen topics of litigation, and with the thousand and eight subdivisions thereof, and being skilled in logic and other sciences, and perfectly acquainted with scripture and jurisprudence, he inquires the law relative to the controversy, and investigates the matter in question, and is therefore called the chief judge.¶¶

“ A person, not austere, but gentle and tender, the hereditary servant of the state, wise, cheerful, and disinterested, should be appointed by the king for the trial of causes.***

“ When the king tries causes in person, this officer is his colleague in the administration of justice; but when he is unable to inspect judicial affairs himself, by reason

* Menu, 8. 9. † *Yājñyavalkya*, 2. 3. 9. ‡ *Cátyáyana*, cited in *Sm. Chand. Calp.*, &c.

§ *Vyása*, cited in *Sm. Chand.*, &c.

|| *Vishn'u*, 3. 73.

¶ Menu, 2. 20.

** *Gautama*, 13.

†† *Vyása*, cited in *Calp.* and *Chint.*

‡‡ *Cátyáyana*, cited in *Sm. Chand.*

§§ *Vrihaspati*, in *Sm. Chand.*, &c.

||| *Gautama*, 13.

¶¶ *Náreda*.

*** *Viramitródaya*.

of other urgent business, or through want of health and ease, the chief judge is his representative.*

“ The denomination of chief judge is a derivative term. He interrogates the plaintiff and the defendant, and is thence named the interrogator. With the assessors he discriminates or investigates the consistency and contradiction of the allegations on both sides, and is therefore called the investigator. He is both interrogator (*prát*) and investigator (*viváca*), and he is for that reason entitled chief judge (*prádviváca*).†

“ The judge interrogates the plaintiff and the defendant, and is therefore termed interrogator. Investigating with the assessors what is affirmed by the parties, he pronounces judgment, and is thence denominated the pronouncer (*viváca*). VYA'SA, using the word investigate, indicates this derivation of the term; he who discriminates is the discriminator (*viváca*). But GAUTAMA defines it thus: he pronounces after investigation, and is therefore entitled the (*viváca*) pronouncer of judgment.‡

“ He asks the plaintiff, what is your complaint? and the defendant, what is your answer? and he is consequently the interrogator. Having heard them, he distinguishes or pronounces the gain or loss of the cause, according to right and wrong, and is therefore pronouncer.§

“ He inquires the charge, and is consequently the interrogator; he awards ordeal suitable thereto, and is therefore awarder. He both interrogates and awards, and is thence so entitled. He should inquire the transaction, and then examine into what is alleged by the two parties.||

“ He questions both parties, the plaintiff and the defendant, and is therefore the interrogator: and he specially pronounces judgment, and is consequently the adjudicator. Thus the appellation is etymologically significant. It is exhibited by NA'REDA in a different manner explanatory of the learning which he should possess. Thus by stating the derivative sense of the term, both legislators do virtually propound the duties of the chief judge.”¶

§ 6. The Assessors.

“ Let the king, accompanied by three assessors at the least, enter the court-room; and there, either sitting or standing, try causes.**

“ Let the chief judge, accompanied by three assessors, enter the court-room; and either sitting or standing, try the causes brought before the king. In whatever place, three *bráhmaṇas*, skilled in the *védas*, sit together with the learned *bráhmaṇa* appointed by the king; the wise call that assembly a court of judicature.††

“ Wherever seven, or five, or even three, *bráhmaṇas*, versed in sacred and profane literature, and acquainted with the law, sit together, that assembly is similar to a meeting for a solemn sacrifice.‡‡

* *Víramitródaya*.

† *Mitácshará* on *Yájnyawalkya*, 2. 3.

‡ *Víramitródaya*.

§ *Raghunandana* in *Vyavahára-tatwa*.

|| Same in *Divya-tatwa*.

¶ *Smṛiti Chandricá*.

** *Vṛhaspati*, cited in *Sm. Chand.* †† *Menu*, 8. 10. 11. ‡‡ *Vṛhaspati*, in *Mit. Calp.* and *Mádh.*

“ In every law-suit, several persons, conversant with many sciences, must be appointed to try the cause : a prudent man should not trust a single individual, however virtuous he may be.*

“ Let persons, who are conversant with sciences and holy studies, acquainted with the law, habitually veracious, and strictly impartial towards friend and foe, be appointed by the king assessors of the court.†

“ Twice-born men, disinterested, opulent, acquainted with jurisprudence, habitually veracious, and skilled in all sacred sciences, should be appointed by princes assessors of their courts of judicature. A man, who has studied but one science, would not know how to pass a just decision in a cause; therefore should one who has many attainments, be appointed by the monarch supreme in the trial of forensic controversies. If there be no learned priests let the king appoint a man of the military class, or one of the commercial tribe, who is conversant with jurisprudence: but let him carefully avoid nominating a *súdra*. Whatever act shall be done by others, than such as here described, though they be formally appointed, must be considered as an illegal proceeding, even though it chance to be conformable with the law.‡

“ Men, qualified by honesty and religious acts, strict in veracity, and attentive to their duties, void of wrath and avarice, and conversant with the institutes of law, should be appointed by the king assessors of the court.§

“ Persons, qualified by birth, religious acts, and rigid observances, and who are impartial towards friend or foe, and incorruptible by the parties in the cause, through any means whatsoever, whether by influencing their lust, wrath, fear, avarice, or other passion, should be appointed by the king assessors of the court.||

“ The king should appoint, as members of the court, honest men of tried integrity, who are able to support the burden of the administration of justice like bulls (bearing a heavy load). The assessors of the king's courts of judicature should be men skilled in jurisprudence, sprung from good families, rigidly veracious, and strictly impartial towards friend and foe.¶

“ They, who are unacquainted with the customs of the country, who hold atheistical tenets, who neglect the sacred code, and who are insane, passionate, avaricious, or diseased, must not be consulted in the decision of a cause.**

“ Let the *bráhmaṇ'a*, who has been appointed by the king to be chief judge, being accompanied by three *bráhmaṇ'as*, who are learned men, fit to sit in the court, and conversant with the trial of causes, enter that court, and there sitting or standing, but not moving to and fro, lest his attention should be distracted, try the causes relative to matters of debt or other litigated topics, which are depending for trial before the king. In whatever spot even three *bráhmaṇ'as*, learned in the three *védas* (*rich*, *yajush* and *sáman*) sit; and with them the learned *bráhmaṇ'a* who has been appointed by the king,

* *Náreda*, 1. § 2. 3.

† *Yájnyawalkya*, 2. 2.

‡ *Cátyáyana*, cited in *Calp.*, &c.

§ *Vrihaspati*, *ibid.*

|| *Vishn'u*, 3. 74.

¶ *Náreda*, 1. § 2. 7. 8.

** *Vrihaspati*, in *Sm. Chand.* and *Calp.* and *Madh.*

also sits; people deem such an assembly similar to the court of the god with four faces (*Brahmá*).*

“ Accompanied by three assessors at the least; not by so few as two or one.†

“ The assessors appointed should be three: for such is the import of the plural term. But they may be more, either five, or else seven.‡

“ The implied sense is, that fewer than three should not be appointed, nor more than seven. The uneven number is intended to show that, in case of disagreement, the opinion of the greater number should be respected, since it is a rule, when the many and the few disagree, that the judgment of the majority shall prevail: provided, however, their qualifications be equal. But, if these be unequal, the opinion of the best qualified ought to prevail; agreeably to the saying, ‘even a hundred blind men cannot see.’§

“ Persons, possessing the qualifications described; namely, conversant with philosophy, grammar, and other sciences, familiar with the study of the *védas*, acquainted with the law, being versed in the sacred code of justice, endued with the quality of speaking the truth, and impartial towards friends and foes, being divested of malice, affection, or passion; should be appointed by the king assessors of the court (*sabhásad*). They should be induced by presents, reverence, and courtesy, to sit (*sad*) in the court (*sabhá*) or assembly.||

“ They should be persons sprung of noble families; descended both on the father’s and on the mother’s side from ancestors free from any stain, such as that of a mixt class or other debased origin.¶

“ By others (than such as described in the text), though formally appointed, yet destitute of the requisite qualifications, if a decision consonant to law chance to be passed, still it must be considered to be inconclusive.**

“ By valuable presents, by courtesy, and other conciliatory means, the king should induce qualified persons not to decline sitting in court for the trial of law-suits.††

“ The assessors should be persons incorruptible by the parties in the cause, through any means whatsoever. They should be such as cannot be gained by the litigant parties.‡‡

“ Not to be influenced by the parties or litigants acting on their passions.”

§ 7. The Audience.

“ Whether appointed or not appointed [to be a member of the court], one, who is skilled in jurisprudence, has a right to speak: for he, who lives in strict observance of the law, delivers a speech, which the gods approve:§§ or [as the reason is given by another author] for that which he deliberately pronounces in the court, is doubtless conformable with the law.|||

* *Cull. Bh.* on *Menu*, 8. 10. 11.

† *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Ch.*

‡ *Mit.* on *Yājñ.*

§ *Mitr. mir.* in *Vīramitr.*

|| *Mit.* on *Yājñ.*

¶ *Ragh.* in *Vyav. tatva.*

** *Calpataru.*

†† *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Ch.*

‡‡ *Lacshm.* in *Calp.*

§§ *Nūreda*, 1. § 2. 2. *Vasishth*’ha, cited in *Sm. Chand.*

||| *Vrihaspati*, cited in *Calpataru.*

“ One who is not appointed (nor is qualified to act as judge) must on no account speak at the trial of a law-suit: but by him, who has been appointed, an impartial opinion ought to be given.*

“ Either the court must not be entered, or law and truth must be openly declared; but that man is criminal who either says nothing, or says what is false and unjust.†

“ Either the court should not be entered; either the duty of inspecting law-suits should not be accepted; or, if it be accepted, the truth should be spoken. When the judges are deciding unjustly, the wise do not approve the silence of one even who has approached the court of his own accord, not being regularly appointed.‡

“ One, who is conversant with the law, has a right to declare his opinion, though he be not formally appointed to assist at the trial.§

“ If the king, notwithstanding proper and legal advice, given by the constituted judges, should act unjustly, he must be checked by them, else they incur blame. Again, if persons, who are not formally appointed, tender wrong advice, or none, blame falls on them; but not for omitting to check the king when he persists in acting illegally.||

“ The court should be surrounded by a few men of the commercial tribe, assembled in a group, persons mild and well disposed, advanced in years, of good families, opulent, and devoid of malice.¶

“ Merchants should be hearers of what passes at the trial of causes.**

“ To restrain the populace, the court should be encompassed by a few men of the mercantile tribe,†† forming a throng.”††

§ 8. The Domestic Priest or Spiritual Adviser.

“ The king should appoint for his domestic priest, a diligent and faithful *bráhmaṇa*, conversant with sciences and sacred duties, disinterested, and rigidly veracious.§§

“ For releasing a criminal who ought to have been punished, the king must fast one night; and his domestic priest three. But, for inflicting pains on one, who should not have been chastised, the domestic priest must observe the severe fast; and the king, that which lasts three nights.|||

“ A domestic priest must be appointed by the king for the inspection of judicial proceedings, in like manner as he is delegated for the celebrating of lustrations and other religious ceremonies.¶¶

“ Only one domestic priest is appointed. The singular number therefore is here purposely employed: for the object is attained by a single appointment.

“ The king should be checked by the domestic priest, if he act unjustly, partially, or perversely. Accordingly *VASISHT'HA* ordains penance for the domestic priest, as well as for the king, when the penal law has been contravened.”***

* *Náreda*, 1. § 2. 1.

† *Menu*, 8. 13. *Náreda* 1. § 2. 16.

‡ *Médhātī'hi* on *Menu*.

§ *Váchespati mis'ra*.

|| *Mit.* on *Yájn*.

¶ *Cátyáyana*, cited in the *Sm. Chand.*, &c.

** *Ibid*.

†† *Mitácshará*.

‡‡ *Mádhaviya*.

§§ *Vyása*, cited in *Sm. Chand*.

||| *Vásisht'ha*, 19.

¶¶ *Mitra mis'ra* in *Víramitródaya*.

*** *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Chand*.

§ 9. *Ministers of State.*

“ When tired of overlooking the affairs of men, let the king assign the station of inspector to a principal minister, who well knows his duty, who is eminently learned, whose passions are subdued, and whose birth is exalted.*

“ Let the king appoint for his counsellor a priest or a twice-born man, perfectly conversant with the sense of all the sacred institutes, devoid of avarice, a just speaker, intelligent, and who has been uniformly employed in the royal service.†

“ The king must appoint seven or eight ministers, who must be sworn; men who are hereditary servants of the throne, who are versed in holy books, who are personally brave, who are skilled in the use of weapons, whose lineage is noble.‡

“ Although the text specify a priest, the word twice-born is nevertheless added, to show that, for want of such a learned priest, the king may appoint for his minister a *cshatriya*, or a *vais'ya*, but not a *s'ûdra*.

“ Minister is here expressed in the singular number with an indefinite sense; for it is only meant to enjoin the appointment (not to prescribe the number), and MENU directs the king to repair to the court with many counsellors.”§

§ 10. *Officers of the Court.*

“ They who are subordinate to the court are properly called the king's officers; the accountant and the scribe are likewise officers of the court. All these the king should require to attend the judicial assembly.||

“ Two persons, versed in grammar and language, skilled in computation, pure in conduct, and well acquainted with various modes of writing, should be appointed by the king to be respectively accountant and scribe.¶

“ The king should appoint as accountant one who is versed in the three branches of mathematics, who is clearly deserving of trust, and who is conversant with sciences and sacred studies.**

“ Let him appoint, as scribe, one whose diction is unambiguous, whose hand-writing is fair, and who is honest, placid, disinterested, and strictly veracious.**

“ A man of the servile tribe, who has been uniformly employed in the king's service, and will be firm and strictly obedient to the judges, should be appointed by the king to be keeper of things claimed and enforcer of the recovery.**

“ A man of strict veracity must be nominated by the king as his own officer, under the control of the judge, to summon the parties, to hold them in custody, and to seek their witnesses.††

“ He who recreates the plaintiff and defendant, the judges, the scribe, and the accountant, with discourses on morality, holds the office of moderator of the court.‡‡

“ The accountant should be a person versed in the science of astronomy, compre-

* Menu, 7. 141.

† Vyâsa, cited in Sm. Ch.

‡ Menu, 7. 54.

§ Dêv. Bh. in Sm. Ch.

|| Cât'yâyana, cited in Calp.

¶ Vrihaspati, cited in Sm. Ch. and Madh.

** Vyâsa, cited in the same.

†† Vrihaspati, cited in the same.

‡‡ Vyâsa, ib.

hending three branches, entitled *hórú*, or astrology; *gan'ita*, computation (arithmetic, algebra, and mensuration), and *sanhitá*, or body of astronomy. The condition, that he be conversant with sciences and sacred studies, implies that he must belong to a regenerate tribe; and the scribe, mentioned in the same place, should likewise be a twice-born man. To show that the keeper of things claimed need not be so, the same author says of him, 'a man of the servile tribe,' &c.*

" 'The king's own officer,' is a messenger placed under the control of the judges to summon parties, &c.†

" The moderator of the court, or diverter of all parties, may belong to any one of the four tribes, since no preference is intimated. But according to the *Smṛiti Chandricá*, he should appertain to one of the three first tribes, since the nomination of a *s'údra* to an office in court is to be carefully avoided, as an offence forbidden.‡

§ 11. Conduct of Judges, &c.

Since it is one of the functions of a sovereign to examine controversies in person, that duty is discharged by wise princes in the manner enjoined by law. Therefore should a king thoroughly guard his realm with care, by the due administration of justice, so will his wealth, virtue, and royal power be increased. Let him not side with either party, forgetting YAMA's virtue of impartiality; but constantly inspect forensic affairs, banishing lustful and angry passions.§

" To him who decides causes according to justice, having subdued his lustful and angry passions, subjects flock as rivers flow to the sea. Like YAMA, therefore, should the sovereign himself, forsaking favour and dislike, practise the virtues of self-command, having conquered his wrath and subdued all his passions.||

" But a king, especially, who is careful to discharge his duty, must make strict inquiry to distinguish right from wrong, because human intellect is confused. Liars compared with veracious men, sincere persons contrasted with insincere, appear in various shapes, and therefore trial and examination are enjoined. The sky seems to have a basis, and the luminary which shines in the heavens appears as fire; yet there is no base to the sky, nor fire in the celestial luminary. Hence it is right to examine a fact strictly, even though it occurred in the inquirer's own sight: he, who ascertains facts by rigid investigation, deviates not from justice. A king, thus constantly inspecting forensic affairs with attention, here passes through a region of glory, and hereafter reaches the splendid abode of the sun.¶

" A prince thus practising vigilance in the due administration of justice, as ordained by law, here passes through a region of glory, and hereafter becomes a counsellor of INDRA.**

" A king who acts with justice in defending all creatures, and slays only those who

* *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Ch.*

† *Vách. mis'r.* in *Vyav. Chint.*, and *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Ch.*

‡ *Mitr. mis'r.* in *Víramitr.*

§ *Cátyáyana*, cited by *Bálam Bhat't'a.*

|| *Menu*, *ib.*

¶ *Nárcada*, 1. 62 and 66. 69.

** *Vrihaspati*, cited by *Bal. Bh.*

ought to be slain, performs, as it were, a daily sacrifice with a hundred thousand gifts.*

“ A sovereign, who chastises those who should be chastened, and duly puts to death those who deserve capital punishment, performs a sacrifice with a hundred thousand gifts.†

“ A king, who inflicts punishment on such as deserve it not, and inflicts none on those who deserve it, brings great infamy on himself, and shall go to a region of torment.‡

“ Surely neither the king's brother, nor his son, nor his father-in-law, nor his uncle, should be exempted from penalty for infringing their respective duties.§

“ A king is pronounced equally unjust in releasing one who merits punishment and punishing one who deserves it not; he is just who always inflicts the penalty ordained by law.||

“ As for the maxim that the king is the dispenser of distributive justice, it is intended to show, that he is exclusively invested with power to impose pecuniary penalties and inflict corporal pains; for reproof and imprecation may be used by the chief judge also; but the king alone is competent to exact a fine from one who is liable to amercement, and slay a man who deserves capital punishment. Reproof and imprecation are not restricted, because they are intended only for correction. Accordingly, after mention of the king or a very learned *bráhmaṇ'a*, as the proper persons to decide suits, the legislator adds, ‘ both reproof and imprecation are declared to be within the competence of the priest; but pecuniary and corporal punishment appertain to the functions of the sovereign.’¶ It must be inferred that the judges and arbitrators, whether sitting in a stationary or in a moveable court, have only power to pass a decision; for by this text they are not competent to inflict any punishment whatsoever.**

“ The chief duty of a prince invested with sovereignty by consecration and inauguration, is the protection of his people, and that cannot be effected without restraining the wicked; nor can these be detected without inspecting judicial proceedings. Therefore should forensic affairs be daily inspected, as enjoined by the author†† in a preceding passage. ‘ Reflecting apart on the reward of daily administering justice, equal to that of a solemn sacrifice, the king should day by day inspect law-suits in person, surrounded by assessors.’‡‡

“ Daily, except on the fourteenth day of every semi-lunation, and other excepted times.§§

“ Let not the king do that which is inconsistent with revealed or memorial law, nor what is injurious to living beings: if that, which is so, be practised, let him check such conduct. Whatever has been inadvertently done, contrary to justice, by another monarch, let him redress according to maxims ordained by traditional law.|||

* Menu, 8. 306.

† *Yājñyavalkya*, 1. 360.

‡ Menu, 8. 128.

§ *Yājñyavalkya*, 1. 359.

|| Menu, 9. 249.

¶ The author is not named.

** *Mitr. mī'r.* in *Viramitr.*

†† *Yājñyavalkya*.

‡‡ *Mitácshara*.

§§ *Smṛ ti Chandricá*.

||| *Náreda*, 18. 9. 10. *Yāma*, cited in *Vyav. Chint.* and *Cātyāyana*, quoted in other compilations.

“ Traditional law is the *Véda*.*

“ Let the king carefully check, to the utmost of his power, whatever is contrary to justice; but if unable to do so, blame shall not be imputed to him: the wise restrict imputation of iniquity to wilful offences.†

“ Ere long his foes will subdue the wicked king, who decides causes unjustly through delusion of mind.‡

“ When the king issues an unjust command in the affairs of litigant parties, the judge should remonstrate with the king, and effectually restrain him. A just and impartial opinion must indispensably be delivered by a member of a judicial assembly; if the prince listen not to it, that judge is nevertheless exonerated. But, knowing the prince's mind to be diverted from the path of justice, still he must not flatter him: a judge who so did would be criminal. Let not the members of the judicial assembly neglect to check the king when he acts unjustly; they who neglect it, fall headlong with him to a region of torture. Judges, who conform with him when he is disposed to proceed iniquitously, share his guilt. Therefore should the king be slowly advised by the members of the tribunal.§

“ By saying slowly,|| it is intimated that the judges should not, for fear of sin, abruptly at the instant oppose the king with their advice, but at another opportunity dissuade him.¶

“ A judge, who applauds an unjust sentence pronounced by the king, is criminal. Blame is likewise imputable to one who neglects to check the king when he deviates from the right path, and also to one who follows the king in his deviation from that path.**

“ Perceiving the prince's mind to be diverted from the road of justice, still he must not flatter him; and thus only the judge will not be criminal.††

“ He must not flatter him by delivering an opinion simply in conformity with the king's inclination, but should opine strictly according to equity. Such being his conduct, the judge will not be criminal.‡‡

“ When law-suits are justly decided, the judges obtain their own absolution, since their innocence depends on the justice of their decisions: therefore should equitable judgments only be pronounced.§§

“ The reward, as of a solemn sacrifice, belongs to him who, banishing avarice, hatred, and other passions, decides causes in the mode prescribed by law. The gods practise

* *Vách. mis'r. in Vyav. Chint.*

† *Cátyáyana.*

‡ *Menu.*

§ *Cátyáyana*, cited in *Sm. Chand. Calp. and Vyav. Chint.* Several of the verses are quoted as *Náreda's* in *Víramitr.* and variations occur in the reading of the text.

|| The reading here is slowly '*sánaih*,' instead of '*sa taih*,' by them, as in other compilations, *Calp. Chint., &c.*

¶ *Sm. Ch.*

** *Vyav. Chint.*

†† *Cátyáyana*, cited in *Sm. Ch.*, but *Náreda* as quoted in *Víramitr.*

‡‡ *Mitr. mis'r. in Víramitr.*

§§ *Náreda*, 1. 2. 11.

veracity, but men are conversant with falsehood; a divine character belongs, even in this world, to him whose sentiments strictly conform with truth.*

“ As a blind man, heedless, swallows thorny fish; so does he, who enters a court of justice, and there pronounces an opinion remote from equity and truth, through mistake of facts.†

“ A judge, pronouncing a fair opinion, incurs neither enmity nor sin; but one who acts otherwise, incurs both.‡

“ If the decision be at variance with truth, the witnesses, the judges, the superintendent of the court, and the sovereign of the land, forfeit confidence, lose stability, and fall to a region of torture.§

“ When the judges, fully understanding the latent truth of the case, nevertheless pass judgment otherwise, and not as ordained by the law; when the cause is decided in such manner, then is truth wounded by perjured wicked judges. Whenever the sacred code is transgressed by the judges in the decision of a cause, justice, being injured by iniquity, doubtless will destroy those sinful men.||

“ The divine form of justice is represented as a bull showering boons; and the gods consider him who impedes justice as a slayer of a bull and hinderer of benefactions; let no man, therefore, violate justice. The only firm friend who follows men, even after death, is virtue: every other is extinct with the body.¶

“ Justice being destroyed, will destroy; being preserved, will preserve; therefore it must never be violated, lest, being injured, it should destroy [thysself and] us.**

“ Justice, wounded by the shafts of falsehood, roars in the midst of the assembly against injustice set before him: this evil being should be slain, even by the wicked. ††

“ For where justice is destroyed by iniquity, and truth by falsehood, the judges who basely look on, shall also be destroyed.‡‡

“ But judges who, repairing to the court, sit there in silent meditation, and do not deliver a candid opinion as they ought, are all deemed guilty of deliberate falsehood.§§

“ When justice, wounded by iniquity, approaches, and the judges extract not the dart, they also shall be wounded by it.¶¶

“ As a surgeon draws a dart from a wounded body by cautious efforts, so should the chief judge extract the dart of iniquity from the law-suit.¶¶

“ When all the persons who are members of the judicial assembly opine ‘ this is right,’ the suit is relieved from the dart of injustice; but otherwise it continues wounded by the rankling dart. There is no judicial assembly wherein no elders sit; nor are they elders who pronounce not an equitable judgment; nor is that an equitable judgment which truth does not pervade; nor is that truth which is contaminated with fraud.”***

* *Vrihaspati*, cited in *Calp.* &c.

† *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 21. and *Hārīta*, cited in *Sm. Ch.*

‡ *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 6.

§ *Vrihaspati*, cited in *Calp.*

|| *Cātyāyana*, cited in *Calp.*, &c.

¶ *Menu*, 8. 16. 17., *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 9. 10. *Hārīta*, and *Baudhāyana*, cited in *Calp.*

** *Menu*, 8. 15. *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 14.

†† *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 12.

‡‡ *Menu*, 8. 14. *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 13.

§§ *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 17.

¶¶ *Menu*, 8. 12. *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 15.

¶¶ *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 22. and *Hārīta*.

*** *Nāreda*, 1. 2. 23. 24.

§ 12. Punishment of iniquitous Judges.

“ Whether it be through passion, ignorance, or avarice, that a judge speaks otherwise [than truth requires], he must be considered as no assessor of the court, and the king should severely punish that sinful man.*

“ Fully considering the just decision of the cause, let a judge pronounce sentence accordingly; a different opinion must not be given. He who does deliver an unjust sentence, incurs a penalty of twice the amount.

“ Whether it be through affection, ignorance, or avarice, that a judge gives an opinion contrary to justice, he is declared by the law to be deserving of punishment.†

“ Judges who act contrary to law and usage, through fear, avarice, or partiality, shall be severally fined twice the amount of the suit.‡

“ Judges who give opinions inconsistent with law and equity; those who accept bribes; and men who defraud such as have trusted them; should all be invariably banished.§

“ Of false witnesses the whole property should be confiscated, and of corrupt judges.||

“ Those who accept bribes, let the king banish, having stript them of their wealth.¶

“ An iniquitous judge, a perjured witness, and the slayer of a priest, are considered equal criminals.**

“ A chief judge, corruptly deciding a cause according to his own perverse will, though conscious that the opinion of the assessors is right, shall also incur punishment.††

“ Whatever loss is sustained through the fault of a judge, must be fully made good by him; but the king should not reverse the judgment which has been so passed between the litigant parties, [or as differently read and interpreted, the king should investigate anew the cause which has been so decided].‡‡

“ If the chief judge converse in secret with one of the parties in an undecided suit, he shall doubtless be liable to punishment; and so shall a member of the judicial assembly, who is guilty of the same collusion.§§

“ A judge who gives an opinion contrary to justice, through the influence of affection or avarice, or through fear, should be fined in twice the amount of the penalty which is incident to the loss of the cause.¶¶

“ The assessors before-mentioned, acting contrary to law, or inconsistently with the sacred code, or contrary to usage (as implied by the conjunctive particle), being overcome by ungovernable passion, through excess of affection, inordinate covetousness, or overpowering terror, shall be amerced respectively in twice the penalty which would be incurred by the party that is cast: not twice the value of the thing which was the subject of the law-suit: else it might be supposed that no fine would be incurred in the case of a trial for adultery or other matter [not pecuniary]. Partiality, avarice, and

* *Nāreda*, 1. 60.

† *Cātyāyana*, cited in *Sm. Chand. Calp.* and *Madh.*

‡ *Yājñyavalkya*, 2. 4.

§ *Vṛhaspati*, cited in *Sm. Chand.* &c.

|| *Vishn'u*, 5. 179. 180.

¶ *Yājñyavalkya*, 1. 340.

** *Vṛhaspati*, cited in *Vyav. Chint.*

†† *Cātyāyana*, cited in the *Calp.* &c.

‡‡ *Vyav. Chint.*

§§ *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Chand.*

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fear, are specified to restrict the precept which prescribes a penalty of twice the amount, to the instance of acting through partiality, &c.; it shall not be incurred in the case of inadvertence, error, and so forth.*

“ Judges passing a decision contrary to law, through the influence of passion, shall be severally fined in twice the amount of the thing which is the subject of the law-suit. This direction for imposing fines is applicable in controversies concerning valuables; but in other disputes, such as personal insult, &c. a different punishment must be understood. Accordingly VISHN’U directs confiscation of property for acceptance of bribes; and here acceptance of bribes is stated merely as an instance.†

“ The offending judge shall be compelled to pay twice the penalty which is involved in the suit. This meaning, consonant to the interpretation of many commentators, must be received. Not as it has been interpreted by a certain commentator,‡ twice the amount of the thing which is the subject of controversy, for that is incongruous; and the incongruity has been shown by many authors: it is not here repeated, for fear of prolixity.§

“ CA’TYA’YANA ordains punishment when the judge’s fault is discovered subsequently to the decision of the cause. Though determined by a corrupt judge, the judgment is not to be rescinded by the king; but he should compel the iniquitous judge to make good the loss.§

“ The king should again try that cause which has been ill investigated and wrong decided.||

“ The same author provides that the chief judge, or assessors, shall be fined even for merely conversing in private with either of the parties, previous to the decision of the cause.¶

§ 13. Court-House.

“ The place where the original matter is thoroughly investigated by a disquisition of law, is a court of justice.**

“ The court of justice should be built on the eastern quarter [of the king’s palace];†† and should be furnished with fire and water.‡‡

“ In the middle of his fortress, let the king construct a house, apart [from other edifices], with trees and water adjacent §§ to it [or, according to a different reading, a large edifice encompassed with water||]; and let him allot for a court [an apartment] on the eastern side of it, with an eastern aspect, and duly proportioned, furnished too with a throne, decorated with wreathes, perfumed with fragrant resins, supplied with corn, embellished with gems, adorned with statues and pictures, and with images of deities, and accommodated likewise with fire and water.¶¶

* *Mit.* on *Yājñ.* 2. 4.

† *Aparārca* on *Vājñ.* 2. 4.

‡ Alluding apparently to *Aparārca*.

§ *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Chand.*

|| *Vách. mīr.* in *Vyav. Chint.*

¶ *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Chand.*

** *Cātyāyana*, cited in *Sm. Chand.* and *Madh.*

†† *Dév. Bh.*

‡‡ *Sanc’ha*, cited in *Sm. Ch.*

§§ As read in the *Madh.*

|| As read in *Sm. Chan.*

¶¶ *Vrihaspati*, cited in *Sm. Ch.* and *Madh.*

“ An apartment for the assembly or court of justice should be allotted on the eastern side of the royal palace. It could be designed according to the dimensions taught by the rules of architecture. The place of assembly is termed a court of justice.*

“ The place where a thorough investigation, or complete ascertainment of the original matter set forth, is competently instituted and conducted by means of a legal inquiry, and by persons qualified to decide, is called a court of justice (*dharmádharma-ran'a*): a term signifying, agreeably to its etymology, a place where the original matter is thoroughly investigated according to rules of law.”†

§ 14. *Time and mode of Sitting.*

“ Having risen in the last watch of the night, his body being pure and his mind attentive, having made oblations to fire, and shown due respect to the priests, let him [the king‡] enter his hall decently splendid.§

“ The king, having made oblations early in the morning and performed ablutions, and being composed and collected, and having shown due honour to his spiritual parents, to learned astronomers and physicians, to the deities and to *bráhmaṇas*, and to domestic priests, with flowers, ornaments and vesture, and having saluted his spiritual parents and the rest, should enter the court-room with a cheerful aspect.||

“ Let the king, uninfluenced by partiality, decide causes in the mode prescribed by law, during the forenoon, in his courts of justice; omitting the [first] eighth part of a day, but during [the next] three: such is the best time for the trial of causes, as ordained by the sacred code.¶

“ After the first four hours (*ghaṭṭicá*), for that time is allotted to the business of the perpetual fire, and other religious affairs. In this space of three [eighth] parts of a day, the king should constantly inspect law-suits.**

“ ‘ The eighth part,’ from the first half watch (*prahara*) to the second (*prahara*).††

“ The trial of causes, during the forenoon only, is here ordained. That again is intended for temporal purposes, because the understanding is then clear, and the king is yet disengaged from other business. A restriction is subjoined. The eighth part is half the first *prahara*: three parts subsequent thereto, but preceding the turn of noon; for else it would contradict the injunction for hearing causes in the forenoon. The omission of half the first *prahara*, too, is intended for a sensible purpose; as it serves to obviate any obstruction to the performance of daily sacrifices and the like.‡‡

“ A wise man should not inspect judicial proceedings on these lunar days; namely, the fourteenth of each half of the month; the day of conjunction (new moon); that of opposition (full moon); and the eighth day of every semilunation.§§

“ This prohibition is intended for spiritual ends, since it can have no temporal use: just like the prohibition of sitting towards a certain quarter [the south] during meals.|||

* *Mádhava*. † *Dév. Bh.* ‡ *Sm. Chand.* § *Menu*, 7. 145.

|| *Vṛhaspatí*, cited in *Sm. Chand.* and *Madh.* ¶ *Cútyáyana*, cited in *Sm. Chand.* &c.

** *Dév. Bh.* in *Sm. Ch.* †† *Ragh.* in *Vyav. tatwa.* ‡‡ *Mitr. mis'r.* in *Víramitr.*

§§ *Samvarta*, cited in *Sm. Chand.* ||| *Mitr. mis'r.* in *Víramitr.*

“ Let the king sit facing the east, and the judges facing the north ; the accountant looking towards the west, and the scribe towards the south : and the king should cause gold, fire, water, and the code of law, to be placed in the midst of them, and also other holy things.*

“ The rest may sit as most convenient ; since there is no restriction concerning their places.”†

* *Vrihaspati*, cited in *Sm. Chand.*

† *Mitr. mis'r.* in *Vīramitr.*

X. *Notices of Western Tartary.* By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., M.R.A.S.

Read June 7, 1828.

THE late rebellion of the Muhammedan Tartars against the Emperor of China, by whose predecessor, KIEN-LUNG, they were subdued, in the year 1759, has given a fresh interest to regions which still remain very imperfectly known to Europeans. Père L'Amiot,* whom thirty years residence at Peking has rendered very capable of affording useful information relating to China and its dependencies, having placed at my disposal some notes concerning the above-mentioned countries, I proceed to subjoin a few extracts from them :

“ Aperçu général de *Sy-yu* (tiré du grand ouvrage statistique intitulé “ *Ta-tsing-yě-tung-tchy.*)

“ *Sy-yu* confine à l'est, avec les Calcas ; au nord et au nord-ouest, avec “ la Russie. Tout le pays est gouverné par le général-en-chef, qui réside “ a *Y-ly*, avec beaucoup de Mandarins militaires Tartares. Les princes du “ pays sont très-nombreux ; inaugurés par l'empereur ; du premier, second, “ et troisième ordre, comme chez les Calcas et les Mongoux. J'ai déjà envoyé “ en France l'analyse † d'un ouvrage Chinois sur *Sy-yu*, qui me paroît plus “ clair et plus instructif qu'aucune autre ; ainsi je recueillerai dans ces notes “ seulement les principaux traits que je n'ai pas trouvé ailleurs. Il y est traité “ de chaque district de *Sy-yu* ; seulement il n'y est point parlé des cruautés “ exercées par les Chinois, ou autres particularités peu honorables à la

* Formerly in the service of the Emperor, but abruptly dismissed by the late sovereign KEA-KING, whose narrow-minded jealousy and dislike towards Europeans was well known, and formed a striking contrast with the favour which they received from his father KIEN-LUNG. Only two Europeans were left by Père l'Amiot at Peking, one of whom, Padre Serra (a Portuguese) has lately arrived at Macao, and the other is expected in the ensuing winter of 1827-28. Thus ends the Roman Catholic mission at the capital of China ; a mission which, however unsuccessful in the primary objects of its institution, has done so much towards making us acquainted with the country and its inhabitants.

† We may hope to see this work edited by one of the Sinologues of Paris.

“ grande nation. Les cartes ne sont pas carrées comme les anciennes
 “ cartes Chinoises ; elles ont la forme Européenne : je pense que c’est une
 “ imitation, car les missionnaires ne sont jamais allés à *Sy-yu*, et n’y ont
 “ pas pu faire de carte. Je trouve des choses très-obscurcs : mais je recueille
 “ les principaux traits. Le pays, dit-on, étoit anciennement très-opulent :
 “ avec beaucoup de royaumes, et une grande nombre de villes. On suppose
 “ qu’il avoit des relations avec la Chine dès la plus haute antiquité. Il
 “ paroît qu’ils sont déclinés de leur gloire depuis qu’ils se sont fait Muham-
 “ medans. Je ne trouve rien de positif sur le caractère et les mœurs des
 “ habitans, mais bien des faits annoncent qu’ils ne manque ni d’intérêt ni
 “ d’énergie. Ils sont pasteurs ; la quantité de leurs troupeaux, bœufs,
 “ moutons, chèvres, cachemires, chevaux renommés,* chameaux ou droma-
 “ daires, est vraiment prodigieuse. Ils sont aussi cultivateurs, du moins
 “ depuis que les colonies Chinoises s’y sont introduites. Beaucoup de
 “ cantons sont très fertiles en riz, millet, et surtout en bled ; la farine
 “ est à très bas prix : ainsi que le chanvre, le coton, les raisins, les
 “ melons : il y a une montagne toute couverte d’oignons (*vide infra*).
 “ En général, toutes les productions des climats tempérés sont en grande
 “ abondance. Les contributions se font en grains, cuivre rouge, et *yu*, cette
 “ pierre si estimée et d’un si grand usage en Chine : au reste, elles ne
 “ suffisent pas aux frais de l’administration.

“ La conquête de *Sy-yu*, qui a immortalisé KIEN-LUNG, lui a coûté
 “ énormément en hommes et en argent : que d’efforts n’a-t-il pas fallu faire
 “ pour charier des armées Chinoises a plus de mille lieues par terre ! Tel
 “ est encore le caractère de la guerre actuelle. L’histoire de ces conquêtes
 “ ne présente pas beaucoup d’intéressant : on tue, on intimide, on exhorte
 “ —le peuple se soumet—les chefs en grand nombre se rendent ou se
 “ vendent, peu-à-peu, et successivement, et voilà tout.

“ *Sy-yu*, placée dans un climat tempéré, en a tous les avantages, et sous le
 “ rapport du caractère des habitans, et en la richesse des productions territo-
 “ riales : aussi KIEN-LUNG y attachoit le plus grand intérêt : il y envoya des
 “ colonies Tartares, favorisa les émigrations, y multiplia les soldats qui cul-
 “ tivent les terres. Il ne donna pas ses filles à ces barbares, comme il faisoit
 “ avec les princes Mongoux ; mais d’ailleurs il ne négligea rien, pour les con-

* Mr. Moorcroft mentions *Yarkund* and *Ladakh* as famous for horses. See also his paper on the Purik sheep in the first volume of these Transactions, pages 49 to 55.

“ cilier et les soumettre. Il en tiroit très peu de subsides, et donnoit plus
“ qu’il ne recevoit.

“ Au reste, *Sy-yu*, acheté en partie, n’a jamais été bien soumis. Les
“ chefs, voisins de la Russie, tenoient des deux cotés; les frontières
“ n’étoient pas clairement designées, et de tems en tems il survenoit des
“ démêlés entre les deux puissances, qui se terminoient en faveur des Russes.
“ L’année dernière, je lisois dans une gazette de Pekin que ces peuplades
“ venant souvent piller les cultivateurs Chinois, l’empereur, pour faire la
“ paix, accordoit une certaine quantité de millet, bled, etc. Ainsi les
“ Chinois avouoient leur foiblesse; leurs adversaires sentoient leur force, et
“ secouerent le joug. Il en est résulté une guerre terrible et très dispen-
“ dieuse pour la Chine. Les gazettes de Pekin ne parlent que de victoires;
“ selon les bruits publiques, l’empire est en danger. Tout cela est
“ exagéré; voici des faits positifs, qui peuvent indiquer l’état actuel des
“ choses. L’empereur envoie toujours force de troupes et d’argent: ainsi
“ il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Les revoltés se defendent vigoureuse-
“ ment dans leur pays, mais ils ont fait peu de progrès vers l’empire:
“ *Y-ly*,* le chef lieu, est toujours en possession des Chinois. Je ne crois
“ pas que la Chine puisse être attaquée de ce côté: il faudroit franchir
“ mille lieues et plus de deserts et de montagnes, et combattre les *Chan-sinois*
“ et les *Chen-sinois*,† qui sont les meilleurs soldats de la Chine. Les *Yuen*
“ qui ont conquis la Chine, venoient, en partie, de *Sy-yu*, mais ils se sont
“ grossis des hordes Mongoux, et des transfuges Chinois; cependant les
“ temps sont bien changés depuis cet époque.

“ Les revoltés peuvent s’avancer plus facilement vers le Tibet, et les
“ possessions Anglaises qui avoisinent le Tibet. C’est peut-être leur projet,
“ car, selon la gazette de Pekin il paroît que la province de *Sze-tchouen*
“ a pris les armes. Au reste, il est prouvé par l’histoire, qu’ils ne peuvent

* This was the capital of the Muhammedan Tartars, previous to their conquest by KIEN-LUNG; and the claim which their chief lately advanced to its independent possession, is said to have been the immediate cause of the war. Moorcroft speaks of the Chinese acquiring “ the state of Kashgar by the expulsion of the Musleman KHAJA, whose heir, JEHANGÍR KHAJA, “ is now (1822) in attendance at the court of OMAR KHAN, the sovereign of Ferghana.” (See the first volume of these Transactions, p. 55.) The Chinese call the Tartar chief CHANG-KÍH-URH HÖCHÖ, which is quite as near an approximation to JEHANGÍR KHAJA as most of their attempts at foreign names: KHAJA or KHODJO, seems to be a common title of honour in Muhammedan Asia.

† Inhabitants of the northern provinces of *Shan-see* and *Shen-see*.

“ pas tenir contre la Chine ; mais si, comme on le dit, ils sont aidés des Russes, ils ne seront jamais soumis.”

It appears, by later accounts in the Peking Gazette, that the war is concluded, at least for the present. The emperor declares, that as the principal places have been retaken, and the inhabitants returned to their submission (though the leader of the rebels has not fallen into his power), there is no farther occasion for the exertions of his troops. The real motives of his Imperial Majesty, in thus suddenly putting a stop to his military operations, and the real nature of the means by which this cessation of hostilities has been brought about, must for the present remain involved in considerable uncertainty. He may have reduced these Tartars to peaceful terms by the mere force of arms ; or he may have ended a ruinous war by compliances and acts of compromise,* not altogether suitable to the dignity of the celestial empire, however these may have been coloured and misrepresented in the official bulletins. “ Proximis temporibus ” (says the historian of another overgrown empire, when speaking of other barbarians), “ *triumphati magis quam victi sunt.* ”

The neighbourhood of Chinese Turkistan to Cabul and its dependencies, induced me to refer to Mr. Elphinstone's valuable account of the latter kingdom, and I was at once struck by the resemblance between the costume exhibited in plate xii. of that work, and that which is represented in the pictures drawn by the Romish missionaries for the Emperor KIEN-LUNG, in commemoration of his battles with, and victories over, the *Hoey-hoey*, or Muhammedan Tartars. The singular cap whose rim ends in two points, curved upwards both before and behind, is almost identical, and seems to prove some considerable connexion.† Mr. Elphinstone describes the subject of his twelfth plate as an individual of the Hazaurehs, a Muhammedan Tartar race, dependent on the King of Cabul, and inhabiting the mountainous country in the neighbourhood of Hindu Cush, or the Indian Caucasus, not very remote from the Chinese dependencies.

In comparing the itineraries of our own travellers, and the maps constructed from European accounts in general, with the Chinese map of Tartary, great difficulty arises from the awkwardness with which the latter conveys the sounds of foreign names. A few, however, are easily distinguishable, and the following may be given as examples :

* The Gazette states that all the former contributions in grain are to be remitted.

† See suite des seize estampes représentant les conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine, Planche xiv, etc.

Kih-shih-kö-urh 喀什噶爾 Cashgar, or Kaush-kaur; concerning which Mr. Elphinstone remarks thus: "The country of Kaushkaur must be carefully distinguished from Cashgar near Yarkand, in Chinese Tartary. I have endeavoured to mark the difference by retaining the spelling of our own maps for the first place, and giving that which is commonest in Afghanistan for the other; though, in fact, I have heard both called indiscriminately Kaushkaur, Kaushghur, and Kaushgaur. We found that the nearest Kaushkaur was an extensive but mountainous and ill-inhabited country, lying to the west of Budukshan, from which it was divided by Belut Tagh, having Little Thibet on the east, the Pamere on the north, and the ridge of Hindu Cush on the south. The country is high and cold; the inhabitants live chiefly in tents, though there are some towns. They belong to a nation called Cobi, of the origin of which I know nothing but what is suggested by the resemblance of their name to that of an extensive tract in Chinese Tartary."*

Yě-urh-keang 葉爾羌 Yarkand. The river of Yarkand is described in the Chinese map as rising in the 蔥嶺 *Tsung-ling*, "Onion or Leek Mountains," alluded to in M. L'Amiot's notes above.

Poo-loo-tih(†) 魯特 Bourouts, a pastoral tribe on the western border of Chinese Turkistan.

Hö-sä-kih 哈薩克 Kuzzauks, mentioned by Mr. Elphinstone as "rude and pastoral nations," Cossacks. Not long ago the Emperor, in one of the Peking Gazettes,‡ complained of their plundering inroads in quest of cattle. This levying of "blackmail" seems to give rise to frequent contests on a barbarous and ill-defined frontier.

I have lately perused the travels of the Russian mission through Mongolia to China, by M. Timkowski, a work which contains much new and useful information relating to the subject of these notices.

J. F. DAVIS.

Canton, November 2, 1827.

* Called by the Chinese 大戈壁 *Ta-ko-peih*, "Great Cobi."

† The Chinese character, pronounced *Poo*, may be seen in Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, No. 8661; or in De Guignes' Chinese Dictionary, No. 2407.

‡ See the first volume of these Transactions, page 408.

 NOTE.

I take this opportunity of explaining a passage at page 409 of the first volume of these Transactions, where it is observed, that the religious ritual of the Chinese empire is founded on the sacred books of CONFUCIUS and his school. CONFUCIUS sanctioned, by his countenance and adoption, the religious system which he found among his countrymen, and his works being the oldest extant, may, in this sense, be properly considered as the foundation of the *Joo-keou*, or state religion, which exists at present. He did not, however, himself originate or invent it, and indeed occasionally confesses the imperfection of his knowledge on such subjects. He was strictly a moral philosopher; and we should always keep distinct the system of ethics which he invented, and the system of worship which he merely left as he found it. The former is, for the most part, excellent; the latter, not very far removed above materialism. His imperial Majesty, as *Pontifex Maximus*, worships the heavens in one temple, the earth in another, the winds in a third; and every mountain and river throughout the country has its altar and its presiding genius. I have myself seen a market gardener (in his particular vocation) paying devout adoration to the fertile powers of the earth, under the semblance of a huge pebble-stone; the same circumstances of roundness and smoothness, which would have caused an English school-boy to select it for a missile, having led this poor Chinese to choose it as the object of his especial addresses.

If there be any meaning at all in the Chinese philosophy of the *Yin* and the *Yang*, it resembles more nearly the atomic system expounded by Lucretius, than any thing else I have ever met with; nor can I at all concur in an attempt, which has lately been made, to explain what is called the *Tae-keih* by a "first cause;" since it appears to be nothing more than some unintelligible beginning of material action. As the Chinese themselves seem unable to convey any clear notions on this profound subject, we might well be excused if we allowed it, without regret, to remain involved in its native and original obscurity.

XI. *Some Account of the Ruins of Ahwuz. By Lieutenant ROBERT MIGNAN, of the First Bombay European Regiment ; with Notes by Captain ROBERT TAYLOR, Resident at Bussorah.*

Read June 14, 1828.

It having been my intention for some time to visit a few of the ruined cities whose decay has converted realms into deserts, and strewn the path of the shepherd with fragments of arches and pillars that once arose in majesty over heroic warriors, I set out in September 1826, for the purpose of examining the remains of the once celebrated city of Ahwuz, lying on the banks of the noble river Karun.

As there are only a few ruined villages (unworthy the traveller's and reader's notice) until its immediate vicinity is reached, I shall pass over the time that elapsed during my journey. It is sufficient to state that the whole country is a perfectly flat and uncultivated waste, abandoned by its former inhabitants to rapacious animals, and to still fiercer hordes of wild and ferocious Arabs, who occasionally pitch their flying camps here when in search of pasturage or plunder.

Previous to my quitting Bussorah I procured Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire (the only book I have seen in our language that attempts any description of Ahwuz), as a guide and for reference.

The modern town of Ahwuz occupies but a small portion of the site of the old city, on the eastern bank of the Karun, and exhibits a mean and solitary appearance, contrasted with the immense mass of ruin that rears its rugged head behind. Its houses are built entirely of stone brought from the ruins, and it can only boast of one decent building, a mosque, apparently modern. The population at present does not exceed sixteen hundred souls. Considerable traces are discernible of the *bund* that was thrown across the river, chiefly, if not entirely, for the purposes of irrigation. A part of the wall is still standing, remarkable for its high state of preserva-

tion ; it is in many places ten feet high, and nearly as much in breadth ; while it extends upwards of one hundred feet in length without any intermediate breach : indeed, on examination, I found many single blocks of stone in it measuring eight and ten feet. The river dashes over the *bund* with great violence, and accelerated by a strong current always running southwardly with rapidity, is projected into a fall, the sound of which is to be heard from a considerable distance. Boats of every description are obliged to discharge their goods previous to an attempt at passing over, and even then the passage is attended with much danger. I understood that they are frequently swamped. The river is one hundred and sixty yards in breadth at each side of the dyke, and of great depth ; therefore the shallowness opposite the town is caused by the great mass of masonry below the surface. The remains of this *bund* are the portions which Kinneir appears to assign to the remnants of the palace of ARTABANES. Upon what authority he asserts that *any* palace was erected across the river, or that it was the winter residence of ARTABANES, the last of the Parthian kings, I am at a loss to discover. Kinneir also mentions that many of the excavations in the rocks bore the exact form and dimensions of a coffin : for these sepulchral recesses I looked in vain, although, towards the south end of the town, there are several singular cavities, and a few water-mills erected between the rocks, the latter probably constructed since his visit.

The remains of a bridge I found where he places it, namely, behind the town ; and here too commences the mass of ruins, extending at least ten or twelve miles in a south-easterly direction, while its greatest breadth covers about half that distance. I could not find any person who had been to the end of these ruins ; and according to the inhabitants, their extent would occupy a journey of two months. Although this is doubtless an exaggeration, it may be as well to mention, as an hypothesis, that they extend to the neighbourhood of Ram Hormis.

All the mounds are covered with hewn stone, burnt brick, and pottery. The first which I ascended I found to be nearly two hundred feet high. In many parts flights of steps are plainly discernible in good preservation, and at the base of this mass of ruins I dug into some graves, and found stones measuring five and six feet in length. Hence it was I brought away several stones with inscriptions upon them in the Cufic character, and others with fret-work, all indicative of an era subsequent to the Muham-

medan.* In every direction I met with vast heaps of circular flat stones perforated in the centre, apparently used for the purpose of grinding grain, though rather colossal for such a purpose, as they generally measured four, five, and six feet in diameter, and some exhibited characters upon them. The above-mentioned mound extends as far as the eye can reach, varying in height and breadth, and is the first in magnitude upon the plain. To the west of this is a mound entirely of stone, fifty feet high and twenty broad : here are several flights of steps, which may, without difficulty, be traced to its summit; although they are much mutilated, and injured by exposure to the atmosphere.

About a mile to the east, separated by a deep ravine, stands an immense pile of materials, consisting of stone, brick, and tile of various colours. The Arabs who accompanied me called it the *Kasr* (قصر), or palace. Its ascent is gradual but fatiguing, from the numerous furrows which have been apparently worn by water on its passage. The height is, at the lowest estimate, one hundred and fifty feet from the plain below. On the summit are many floorings of stone, as fresh as if only recently laid down; together with several rounded troughs, some of which were of Persepolitan marble in its rough state. From numerous cavities we started large flocks of jackals, and I found a number of porcupine quills strewed in every direction. I discovered that it was impossible to descend on the opposite side, as it was nearly perpendicular, and exhibited many frightful chasms. At the base of this mound the camel's thorn (الجمل شوك) is plentiful, and from its green appearance considerably relieved the landscape the general dreariness and sterility of which is gloomy beyond conception. The *Kasr* is about three miles from the east bank of the river. From this edifice I proceeded to a mound about half a mile distant in a north-westerly course. Its form was circular, measuring two hundred yards. At its base I traced a wall of masonry for twenty-one feet, the face of which is perfect and unbroken, and appears to have been the front of some building. The face opposite to that by which I ascended joins another ruined heap, covered with fragments of glazed tile, a coarse kind of crystal, pieces of alabaster, and bits of glass.

* I believe Cufic coins have also been found in the ruins. I purchased a gold one, but will not vouch for its having been dug up there: it is nearly one thousand years old, and is as fresh in appearance as if just from the mint.

Several mounds form one connected chain of rude, unshapen, flaked rock, lying in such naturally formed strata, that the very thought of any part of the materials having been accumulated by human labour from a distant site is scarcely admissible. The soil on which these ruins rest appears peculiarly soft and sandy; the country does not apparently become rocky until the immediate vicinity of *Shuster*, and even water-carriage from thence is attended with considerable toil and expense. Yet the height of these mountainous ruins and misshapen masses, induces me to admit the notion that the site was by nature elevated at the time the city was built, although from the flatness of the surrounding country I should be inclined to oppose such a conjecture; more particularly as I never heard of any mountains between the *Shut-ul-Arab* and the Bucktiani chain (which are to be seen from hence extending from the north-west to the south-east), nor do I believe there is a single hillock. Let me not be supposed to exaggerate when I assert, that these mountains of ruin, irregular, craggy, and in many places inaccessible, rival in appearance those of the Bucktiani chain, and are discernible from them, and for nearly as many miles in an opposite direction.

It is a singular fact, that almost every mound I passed over was strewed with shells of different sorts and sizes. I observed them also on the water's edge along the banks of the Karun; therefore we may suppose that at some former period the river, or more probably canals from it, flowed through the city. Glass of all colours is equally abundant, and the fragments of pottery are remarkably fresh.

Many of the burnt bricks that lie on the surface of the mounds appear to have borne some written character; but exposure to the weather, and probably occasional inundations, caused by the melting snows of the adjacent mountains, have nearly effaced all traces of it; though, as I have already mentioned, the character on the hewn stone is as fresh and plain as if only just from the sculptor's hands. No bitumen was observable on the bricks, which I much regretted, as it would have afforded a strong proof of the antiquity of the spot.* The circular perforated stones that I have already alluded to appear in many places to have formed aqueducts, as I followed

* I met with a few small intaglios, generally denominated seals, and probably used as such, similar to those found at and near Babylon; the villagers assured me they had procured them when digging for bricks, which I think is not unlikely.

them for a great distance in successive rows in small dry rivulets; and placed so firmly together, that it would have occupied the labour of several days to have removed any of them. The Arabs are always digging up and removing stones for the purpose of building, yet their expenditure has been nothing when compared to the vast quantities of stone and brick that are scattered about. Probably they have excavated a space of a hundred yards, but certainly to no greater extent: which is a proof how abundant the hewn stone is, for there is not a house in the town built of any other material. I am perfectly convinced that as large a city as any now existing might be erected from the ruins that I saw.* The ruins of Ahwuz extend also for a considerable distance on the west bank of the river in a northerly direction, exhibiting the same appearance as the mounds on the east side; though the former are not to be compared with these in point of magnitude. The *bund* that was thrown across appears to have nearly connected the city together; but as there is abundant room for conjecture, and much ground for idle supposition, it is better and wiser merely to state what is visible: this I have attempted to do, though perhaps with a feeble pen. Nevertheless, whatever our opinions may be regarding this once famous capital of a flourishing province, we must concur in ranking it lower in point of antiquity than either Persepolis or Susa, to say nothing of the mighty Babylon; or how could we persuade ourselves that Alexander the Great, strict and attentive in observation as enterprising and successful in war, should have navigated the Karun and have made no mention of the city, when comparatively insignificant towns attracted his notice. I repeat, it is my firm opinion and belief that this city, now one vast heap of ruins, was erected long since the days of the above-named illustrious warrior.

To conclude: it must ever be a subject of deep regret that the difficulty of exploring the remains of any spot of antiquity should be heightened by the passions of a people disposed to turbulence and riot. The desolation which, under the influence of a barbarous government, has for years been advancing over Susiana, one of the finest provinces of the east, whether as to soil and climate, or as to aptitude for commercial intercourse, irresistibly presses on the mind the mutability of earthly dignity; it made me tremble

* I was prevented examining the other mounds, that extend to the verge of the horizon, from not being able to procure a horse or a mule, although I offered a large sum for the hire of one; most likely the Sheikh did not deem it safe, from the disturbed state of the country.

for the future fortunes of my native land, and effectually softened into compassion the disgust I might have entertained for the vicious and degraded people of this wilderness of desolation.

ROBERT MIGNAN.

NOTES
TO THE PRECEDING MEMOIR,
BY
CAPTAIN TAYLOR.

IN forwarding to the Royal Asiatic Society the annexed description of the ruins of the ancient city of Ahwaz, situate ninety-two miles north-east of Bussorah, and forty-eight miles south of Shuster, which has been drawn up by Lieutenant Mignan, who has just returned from visiting them, I have been permitted to append the few remarks I could select on this subject from such Oriental manuscripts in my possession as appeared to be most worthy of confidence. As they are illustrative of a topic hitherto lightly touched, and consequently obscure, they can scarcely fail to interest from their novelty, though they might not fix the attention of the reader, from any great intrinsic importance.

Of the foundation of this city I have it not in my power to assign the date. Its name occurs very early in the annals of Islam. The specimens of its architectural decoration, brought from the ruins by Lieut. Mignan, are decidedly Moslem, bearing inscriptions in no character but the early Cufic, nor language other than the Arabic : a remark equally applicable to the coins and gems usually found there ; with the exception of a few small intaglios on cornelian or oriental onyx, the only evidences of an antiquity more remote than the era of MUHAMMED. All these circumstances would appear to lead to one of two conclusions : either that the remains now seen are those of a city founded by the first khalifs of the Ommiade dynasty, or that additions had been made to the edifices already erected by the Persians on a site older than the epoch of the advance and victories of the adherents of Islam. The zenith, however, of its prosperity was attained under the earlier khalifs of the house of ABBÁS ; nor did it long survive their fall.

The notice of the earliest date is extracted from the *Tohfet-ul-Alem*, a modern work, composed for the information, and at the desire of the celebrated MÍR ALEM of Hydrabad, by MÍR ABDUL SULÍF, a learned relative, and native of Shuster, the present capital of Susiana; it commences with an excellent general description of the province.

Etymology also favours the view taken above: *Ahwáz* as well as *Hawaozeh*, another town of Khúzistan, the ancient Susiana, are two Arabic forms of one root. The earlier name of the former, according to ABULFEDA, in his geographical tables, was *Humuzin Shehr*, strictly a Persian appellation, a compound too, evidently not of modern date; while the various districts of *Khúz* (whence *Susia* or *Ciassia*) were combined under the common name *Alahwáz*, and the capital was designated by the Arabic terms *Suz-ul-Ahwáz*, that is to say, the mart or emporium of *Al-Ahwaz*, or the districts.

According to SAMAANI, as stated in his Biographical and Genealogical Dictionary, its pristine fame and prosperity no longer existed, any more than its proud palaces, and learned, luxurious, and wealthy citizens, in the middle of the twelfth century of our era.

With the exception perhaps of *Sistán*, no province of Persia is less known or more worthy of investigation than *Khuzistán*. To the antiquary particularly it presents many objects of interest, in the ancient remains at *Ahwáz*, *Shuster* and *Desfúl*. It may also put forth the additional claim of possessing the last remnant of the Chaldees and Sabeans, the oldest people upon earth; the last depositaries, not improbably, of the earliest philosophical and theological systems of the human race; though, less fortunately, the originators also of its most complicated mythology and most degrading superstitions. The professors at once of the purest notions of unrevealed godhead; and the source of the impurest heretical heaven which has deformed Judaism, Christianity, or Muhammedanism. A considerable portion of their earliest literature is preserved; and it is not improbable that, with competent aid, their hitherto mysterious doctrines may be satisfactorily elucidated. I am, fortunately, in possession of their most important works, and of the valuable services of their chief priest: and have already translated some of the most interesting chapters of their *Siddá Rabbá*, or book of scriptures, entitled by the erudite and indefatigable Horbary "*Liber Adami*."

" I. The city of *Ahwáz* is one of the largest cities of the earth; and in
 " Khuzistan, or indeed in the other kingdoms of the world, few are to be
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“ seen equal to it in size and extent. What are now thick and impervious
“ woods, were once extensive plantations of sugar-cane. Large vats and
“ manufactories of sugar were also in existence ; and mill-stones and other
“ implements of the art of the sugar-baker are even now so profusely
“ scattered over the ancient site, that it is impossible to number them.
“ During the dynasty of the Abbassides, this city was at the height of its
“ prosperity. Its extent in breadth is supposed to be forty parasangs,
“ throughout which ruins and remains of magnificent edifices, baths,
“ caravans, and mosques, are strewed. Extensive as they may appear, the
“ inhabitants were always in litigation regarding houses and ground, as
“ spaces sufficiently open and ample could not be had for their accommo-
“ dation. These khalifs, within whose dominions was comprehended most
“ of the habitable world, named this city ‘ the source of food and wealth ;’
“ the inhabitants of which, in their riches and luxury, excelled the rest of
“ the world.

“ The river of Dizipul, a stream nearly equal in size to that of the
“ Kuran, enters this latter below Bandi Kír, and here the united waters
“ are termed ‘ the river of Ahwaz.’ The *bund* of Ahwaz restrained their
“ course, so that the waters completely overflowed the land, and not a drop
“ was lost to the aid of cultivation. The intermediate country was covered
“ with plantations of sugar-cane ; and the sugar was conveyed to every part
“ of the world, as none of foreign manufacture was then imported into
“ the territories of Persia or Rúm. Thus the inhabitants became rich and
“ luxurious, and renowned throughout the earth. As wealth, however, is
“ the parent of pride and insubordination, these wealthy citizens revolted
“ from the khalifs, until ALI EBN MUHAMMED, the astrologer, surnamed
“ ‘ prince of the *Zaugís*,’ from having recruited his army among the
“ *Zaugís*, or Nubian slaves of Khuzistan and Busrah, took the field with a
“ powerful force, and contended for years against the monarchs of the
“ house of ABBÁs. In the course of these hostilities the people served in
“ the ranks of one or other of the rival armies, and were *swept away* in
“ numbers by the chances of war ; until, in the end, the khalifs triumphed.
“ The rebellious spirit of the people, however, had so disgusted these
“ princes, that they ceased to favour or embellish the city ; and the remain-
“ ing population, left to itself, fell into private feuds and bickerings.
“ Anarchy and oppression ensued ; the weaker fled, industry ceased, and
“ with it the usual resort of commercial adventurers, and the production

“ of wealth. The last poor remnant of this numerous, wealthy, and
 “ luxurious people, abandoned in despair their plantations and the other
 “ sources of their riches and destructive pride, and sunk into desolation.

“ The ruins are covered with heaps of stones and fallen masonry, and
 “ the inhabitants of the small modern town are repaid for their labours in
 “ searching among the ruins, after the periodical falls of rain, by the
 “ discovery of gold and silver coins, medals, and sculptures. Several
 “ gold coins of the Abbassides were shewn to me, while residing at Busrah,
 “ by an old inhabitant of Ahwaz. They have on one side an impression in
 “ the Cufic character, of the usual creed; on the margin of the other, the
 “ names of the four first khalifs; and in the central field the titles of *Alhadi*
 “ *billah*, A.H. 381. Skeletons are also not unfrequently disinterred. The
 “ heat of summer, and of the *sammum*, is here excessive.”—*Tohfet-ul-Alem*,
in vocem Ahwaz.

“ II. Ahwaz is one of the largest districts of the province of Khuzistan.
 “ Its original name was *Hormuzin Shehr*. According to the authors of the
 “ *Labab* and *Mushtauk*, the name of the capital of the province is *Suz-ul-*
 “ *Ahwaz*, and that of the province *Ahwaz*, or *Khuzistan*. The greater part
 “ of the city is now in ruins. It is ninety farsangs from Ispahan.”—
Abulfeda Jagwin-ul Bildan, *Clim.* 9, *Art.* 303. *Diglat-ul Ahwaz*.

“ The river of Ahwaz waters the shores of the city in lon. 75°, lat. 31°,
 “ and passes westward to *Asker Mohram* in lon. 76°, lat. 31° 15'. It nearly
 “ equals the Tigris in breadth; and its banks are adorned with gardens and
 “ pleasure-houses, and enriched by extensive plantations of sugar-cane,
 “ and other valuable productions of the vegetable kingdom.”—*Abulfeda*,
Pref. Jagwin-ul Bildan, *ad cap. de pluviis*.

“ III. Ahwaz, one of the divisions of Khuzistan. It is also the proper
 “ name of all the districts of Khuz collectively; whilst that of the capital
 “ of the present day is *Sus-ul-Ahwaz*. It is almost forty parasangs from
 “ Busrah, and was one of the cities most celebrated for the numbers,
 “ learning, and wealth of its doctors, divines, merchants, and nobles,
 “ whether natives or foreigners. Most of it is now in ruins, and little
 “ remains but a scanty population, and mounds and hillocks of earth and
 “ masonry, fragments of the former capital.”—*Samaani Kitab-ul Aunab*, *in*
vocem Ahwaz.

“ IV. Al Ahwaz. A territory comprizing nine districts, situated between
 “ Busrah and Fars, which are comprehended under the single proper name

“ *Al Ahwaz*. This is the plural of *Húz*, which last, however, though it be the singular form, may not be applied to signify any one of the nine districts singly. The names of these are as follow : *Ram Hormuz*, *Asker Mukram*, *Justar*, *Jundisahur*, *Sus*, *Sunaj*, *Nabr Jíni*, *Aidaj*, and *Ma-nadhir*.”—*Kamas in voce*.

Hawaizah signifies a small collection of inhabitants, the diminutive of the root *húz*, “ people, bodies of men.” It is also the name of a town of Susiana, of a date much subsequent to that of the city of Ahwaz ; and, like it, raised on the site of a more ancient city.

V. The Persian Dictionary, “ *Borhani Patdá*,” under the words *Khuz*, and *Khuzistan*, states that these are both names of a country in Persia, of which Shuster is the capital ; and that the first signifies also sugar ; and the second, any country productive of the sugar-cane, or a manufactory of this article.

(Signed) ROBERT TAYLOR.

Bussorah, November 24, 1826.

XII. *An Essay on the best Means of ascertaining the Affinities of Oriental Languages, by Baron WILLIAM HUMBOLDT, For. M.R.A.S. Contained in a Letter addressed to Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Knt., V.P.R.A.S.*

Read June 14, 1828.

SIR :

I have the honour to return you Sir James Mackintosh's interesting memoir. It possesses (like every thing which comes from the pen of that gifted and ingenious writer) the highest interest ; and the ideas which are so luminously developed in it have the more merit, if we consider, that, at the period when this memoir was published, philosophical notions on the study and nature of languages were rarer and more novel than they are at present.

I would, in the first place, observe, that the Royal Asiatic Society could not direct its efforts to a point more important, and more intimately connected with the national glory, than that of endeavouring to throw further light on the relations which subsist among the different Indian dialects. Since we cannot doubt that this part of Asia was the cradle of the arts and sciences at an extremely remote period, it would be highly interesting to ascertain with greater certainty whether the Sanscrit be a primitive idiom belonging to those countries, or whether, on the contrary, as most of the learned are at present inclined to believe, it was introduced as a foreign language into India ; and if so, the country whence it originated would naturally follow in the course of inquiry. It is equally curious to determine whether the primitive languages of India are to be traced over the Indian archipelago in dialects differing little from each other, and whether we are to assign their origin to these islands or to the continent. Mr. Ellis's paper on the Malayálam language, with which you were so good as to furnish me, contains assertions on the affinity of the Tamul language to the idioms of Java, which it would be very important to verify.

It must be confessed that these problems are extremely difficult to solve ; and it is probable that we shall never arrive at results which are quite certain : we should, however, carry these researches as far as possible, and the difficulty of the undertaking ought not to deter, but rather to induce us to select the most solid and certain means of insuring success. This is more particularly the point to which I wish to direct your attention, since you have been pleased to ask my opinion respecting the methods proposed by Sir James Mackintosh. It would assuredly have been very desirable to execute his plan, at the period when it was formed ; we should then by this time have had more complete information regarding the languages of India ; and should perhaps have been in the possession of dialects, of the existence of which we are now ignorant. There do exist, however, some works, such as Sir James calls for. Not to mention printed books, I have myself seen in the library of the East-India Company a MS. collection of Sanscrit words, compared in great numbers with those of the other languages of India, made under the direction of Mr. Colebrooke.(1) Some distinguished authors, as for instance Mr. Campbell, in his Telugu Dictionary, have been at pains to mark from what foreign idiom such words are derived, as are not proper to the language of which they form a part ; and if these works do not embrace all the Indian idioms, they have, on the other hand, the advantage of comprehending entire languages, or at least of not being confined to a limited number of expressions. In the present state of our knowledge of the languages of India, which is very different from that of 1806, and possessing, as we now do, grammars and dictionaries of most of these idioms, I should not advise our confining ourselves to a plan which can only give a very imperfect idea of each of them. We can, and ought, to go farther at the present day. I confess that I am extremely averse to the system which proceeds on the supposition that we can judge of the affinity of languages merely by a certain number of ideas expressed in the different languages which we wish to compare. I beg you will not suppose, however, that I am insensible to the value and utility of these comparisons : on the contrary, when they are well executed, I appreciate all their importance ; but I can never deem them sufficient to answer the end for which they have been undertaken ; they certainly form a part of the data to be taken into account in deciding on the affinity of languages, but we should never be guided by them alone, if we wish to arrive at a solid, complete, and certain conclusion. If we would make

ourselves acquainted with the relation which subsists between two languages, we ought to possess a thorough and profound knowledge of each of them. This is a principle dictated alike by common sense and by that precision acquired by the habit of scientific research.

I do not mean to say, that, if we are unable to attain a profound knowledge of each idiom, we should on this account entirely suspend our judgment: I only insist on it that we should not prescribe to ourselves arbitrary limits, and imagine that we are forming our judgment on a firm basis, while it is in reality insufficient.

The method of comparing a certain number of words of one existing language with those of several others, has always the two-fold inconvenience of neglecting entirely the grammatical relations, as if the grammar was not as essential a part of the language as the words; and of taking from the language which we wish to examine isolated words, selected, not according to their affinities and natural etymology, but according to the ideas which they express. Sir James Mackintosh very justly observes, that the affinity of two languages is much better proved when whole families of words resemble each other, than when this is the case with single words only. But how shall we recognize families of words in foreign languages, if we only select from them two or three hundred isolated terms? There undoubtedly subsists among words of the same language an analogy of meanings and forms of combination easy to be perceived. It is from this analogy, considered in its whole extent, and compared with the analogy of the words of another language, that we discover the affinity of two idioms, as far as it is recognizable in their vocabularies. It is in this manner alone, that we recognize the roots and the methods by which each language forms its derivatives. The comparison of two languages requires, that we should examine whether, and in what degree, the roots and derivative terms are common to both. It is not, then, by terms expressive of general ideas; such as sun, moon, man, woman, &c., that we must commence the comparison of two languages, but by their entire dictionary critically explained. The simple comparison of a certain number of words, by reducing the examination of languages too much to a mere mechanical labour, often leads us to omit examining sufficiently the words which form the subjects of our comparison; and to avoid this defect, we are forced to enter deeply into all the minutiae of grammar, separating the words from their grammatical affixes, and comparing only what is really essential to the expression of the

idea which they represent. The words, of which we seek a translation in different languages, often cannot be rendered except by a compound term. Thus the sun in some languages is called the father, the author, the star, &c. of day. It is evident, that, in these cases, we no longer compare the same words, but words altogether different. To conclude: it is impossible to form a correct judgment on the resemblance of sounds without having carefully studied the system of sounds of each of the languages which we would compare. There occur often between different languages, and still more frequently between different dialects, regular transformations of letters, by which we can discover the identity of words that at first view seem to have but a very slight resemblance in sound. On the other hand, a great resemblance of sound in two words will sometimes prove nothing, or leave the judgment in great uncertainty, if it be not supported by a train of analogies for the permutation of the same letters. What I have remarked proves, as I think, that even if we confine ourselves to the comparison of a certain number of words in different languages, it is still necessary to enter more deeply into their structure, and to apply ourselves to the study of their grammar. But further, I am quite convinced that it is only by an accurate examination of the grammar of languages that we can pronounce a decisive judgment on their true affinities.

Languages are the true images of the modes in which nations think and combine their ideas. The manner of this combination represented by the grammar, is altogether as essential and characteristic as are the sounds applied to objects, that is to say, the words. The form of language being quite inherent in the intellectual faculties of nations, it is very natural that one generation should transmit theirs to that which follows it; while words, being simple signs of ideas, may be adopted by races altogether distinct. If I attach great importance, however, under this view, to the grammar of a language, I do not refer to the system of grammar in general, but to grammatical forms, considered with respect to their system and their sounds taken conjointly.

If two languages, such for instance as the Sanscrit and the Greek, exhibit grammatical forms which are identical in arrangement, and have a close analogy in their sounds, we have an incontestable proof that these two languages belong to the same family.

If, on the contrary, two languages do contain a great number of words in common, but have no grammatical identity, their affinity becomes a

matter of great doubt; and if their grammars have, like those of the Basque and the Latin, an essentially different character, these two languages certainly do not belong to the same family. The words of the one have been merely transplanted into the other, which has nevertheless retained its primitive forms.

If I assert that, in order to prove the affinity of languages, we should pay attention to the employment of grammatical forms and to their sounds taken together, it is because I would affirm that they must be considered not only in the abstract but in the concrete. Some examples will render this clearer.

Several American languages have two plural forms in the first person, an exclusive and an inclusive form, according as we would include or exclude the person addressed. It has been thought that this peculiarity belonged exclusively to the American languages; but it is also found in the Mantchu, the Tamul, and in all the dialects of the South Sea Islands. All these languages have indeed this grammatical form in common; but it is only in the abstract. Each of them expresses it by a different sound: the identity of this form, therefore, does not furnish any proof of the affinity of these languages.

On the other hand, the Sanscrit infinitive, or rather the affixes तुं and तु, as in जेतुंकाम “desirous of vanquishing,” correspond as grammatical forms with the Latin *supines*, and there is at the same time a perfect identity of sound in these forms in the two languages, as the Latin *supines* terminate invariably in *tum* and *tu*. The striking conformity of the Sanscrit auxiliary verb to that of the Greek and Lithuanian languages, has been ingeniously developed by Professor Bopp. The Sanscrit वेद्, the Greek οἶδα, and the Gothic *vait*, are evidently of the same origin. In all these three words there is a conformity both of sound and signification: but further; all the three verbal forms have these two peculiarities in common, that though preterites, they are used in a present sense, and that in all three the *short* radical vowel, which is retained in the plural, is changed to a *long* vowel in the singular. The Lithuanian *weizdmi*, *I know*, and the Sanscrit वेद्मि, shew clearly at first view that this word is not only the same in the two languages (as *bos* and *beef* in Latin and English), but that the two languages have, in the termination *mi*, modelled these words on the same grammatical form; for they not only mark the persons of the verb by

inflexions added to the end of the root, but the affix of the first person singular is in both cases the syllable *mi*.

There is then in the examples adduced a conformity in grammatical use, and at the same time in sound; and it is impossible to deny that the languages which possess these forms must be of the same family.

The difference between the real affinity of languages, which presumes a filiation as it were among the nations who speak them, and that degree of relation which is purely historical; and only indicates temporary and accidental connexions among nations, is, in my opinion, of the greatest importance. Now it appears to me impossible ever to ascertain that difference merely by the examination of words; especially, if we examine but a small number of them.

It is perhaps too much to assert, that words pass from age to age and from nation to nation; that they arise also from connexions (which though secret, are common to all men) between sounds and objects, and that they thus establish a certain identity between all languages; while the manner of casting and arranging these words, that is to say, the grammar, constitutes the particular differences of dialects. This assertion, I repeat, is perhaps too bold, when expressed in this general way; yet I am strongly inclined to consider it correct, provided the expression *grammar* be not taken vaguely, but with a due regard to the sounds of grammatical forms. But whatever opinion may be entertained with respect to this manner of considering the difference of languages, it appears to me at all events demonstrated:

First, that all research into the affinity of languages, which does not enter quite as much into the examination of the grammatical system as into that of words, is faulty and imperfect; and,

Secondly, that the proofs of the real affinity of languages, that is to say, the question whether two languages belong to the same family, ought to be principally deduced from the grammatical system, and can be deduced from that alone; since the identity of words only proves a resemblance such as may be purely historical and accidental.

Sir James Mackintosh rejects the examination of grammar, for this reason; that languages which are evidently of the same stock have very different grammars. But we must not be misled by this phenomenon, although it is in itself quite true. The grammatical form of languages depends, on the

one hand, it is true, upon the nature of these languages ; but it also depends, on the other hand, upon the changes which they experience in the course of ages, and in consequence of historical revolutions. Out of these changes it has arisen, that languages of the same family have a different grammatical system, and that languages really distinct resemble each other in some degree. But the slightest examination will suffice to shew the real relations which subsist between those languages, especially if by following the plan above laid down we proceed to the examination of forms which are alike identical in their uses and in their sounds. It is thus that we discover without difficulty that the English language is of Germanic origin, and that the Persian belongs to the Sanscrit family of languages, notwithstanding the very great difference which exists between the grammars of these idioms.

It is generally believed, that the affinity of two languages is undeniably proved, if words that are applied to objects which must have been known to the natives ever since their existence, exhibit a great degree of resemblance, and to a certain extent this is correct. But, notwithstanding this, such a method of judging of the affinity of languages seems to me by no means infallible. It often happens, that even the objects of our earliest perceptions, or of the first necessity, are represented by words taken from foreign languages, and which belong to a different class. If we only examine the list furnished by Sir James Mackintosh, we shall find there such words as *people, countenance, touch, voice, labour, force, power, marriage, spirit, circle, tempest, autumn, time, mountain, valley, air, vapour, herb, verdure*, and others of the same kind. Now all these words being evidently derived from the Latin, as it was transformed after the fall of the Roman empire, we ought, judging from these words, rather to assign to the English an origin similar to that of the Roman languages than to that of the German.

If what I have here advanced be well founded, it appears to me easy to point out the system which the Royal Asiatic Society would do well to pursue, in order to complete our knowledge of the Indian languages, and to resolve the grand problem which they present to the minds of philologists who endeavour to discover the origin and the filiation of languages.

It would be proper to commence by examining the country geographically, taking a review of every part of India, in order to know exactly in what parts we are still in want of sufficient materials to determine the

nature of their idioms. Where deficiencies are discovered, efforts should be used for their supply, by encouraging those persons who are already employed on those languages, or may intend studying them, to form grammars and dictionaries, and to publish the principal works existing in these languages, for which every facility should be afforded them. If materials to a certain extent were thus collected, we should unquestionably not want men who would be able to deduce from them conclusions from which to prepare a critical view of the affinity of the Indian languages, and to determine, as far as the data which we might possess would admit, the manner in which the Sanscrit and other languages of India and its islands have reciprocally acted upon each other. I assume that the learned of the Continent would take their share in this work, M. E. Burnouf, of Paris, having already commenced a series of papers on the subject in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*.

There exists in England a vast quantity of manuscript materials relating to these languages. Dr. B. Babington, for instance, possesses alphabets altogether unknown in Europe up to the present time. In England, also, the great advantage is possessed of being able to direct works upon these languages to be undertaken in India itself, and to guide such labours by plans sent from this country. In India these are living languages, and literary men of the very nations in which they are spoken may be employed in the researches we wish to forward. No other nation possesses so valuable an advantage. It is important to profit by it. The deficiencies in our knowledge are numerous and evident. We possess scarcely any thing upon the Malayalim; and are in want of a printed dictionary of the Tamul. But while we keep this object strictly in view, and work upon a fixed plan, we shall insensibly fill up these vacancies. It is certainly difficult to find men who both can and will engage in a work like this, but they are undoubtedly to be found. Thus Dr. Babington has mentioned Mr. Whish to me, as being profoundly acquainted with the Malayalim, and as being already employed in making it better known in Europe. Solid labours upon languages are, in their nature, slow. In an enterprize so vast as that of examining to the utmost possible extent each of the numerous languages of India, progress can only be made insensibly and step by step. But learned societies afford this advantage, that the same labour can be continued through a long series of years; and complete and perfect works upon two or three idioms are certainly preferable to notions, more or less superficial, upon all the dialects

of India, hastily put forth for the purpose of coming at once to a general conclusion.

These, Sir, are my ideas upon the subject, upon which you wished to have my opinion. It is only in compliance with your request, that I have ventured to lay them before you ; for I am well aware how much better able the distinguished members of the Royal Asiatic Society are to form a judgment of, and give an opinion upon, this matter than I am.

I request you, Sir, to accept the assurance of my highest respect.

(Signed) HUMBOLDT.

London, June 10, 1828.

NOTE.

(1) The work to which allusion is made by Baron William de Humboldt, in the passage where I am named, was undertaken by me in furtherance of the views developed by Sir James Mackintosh. I thought that a more copious comparative vocabulary than he had proposed, would be practically useful ; and would be instructive in more points of view than he had contemplated. Accordingly, at my instance, a Sanscrit vocabulary and a Persian one were printed with blank half pages, and distributed among gentlemen, whose situations were considered to afford the opportunity of having the blank column filled up, by competent persons, with a vocabulary of a provincial language. Vocabularies of the same vernacular tongue by a Pandit and a Munshi, would serve to correct mutually, and complete the information sought from them. Very few answers, however, were received : indeed scarcely any, except from Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. The compilation, to which Baron de Humboldt refers, comprises as many as I succeeded in collecting.

H. T. C.

XIII. *Sketch of Buddhism, derived from the Bauddha Scriptures of Nipál.*
By BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, Esq., M.R.A.S.

Read June 28, 1828.

Extract of a Letter from BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, Esq.
to Dr. NATHANIEL WALLICH.

“ Nipál, 11th of August 1827.

“ Soon after my arrival in Nipál (now six years ago), I began to devise
“ means of procuring some accurate information relative to Buddhism:
“ for, though the regular investigation of such a subject was foreign
“ to my pursuits, my respect for science in general led me cheerfully
“ to avail myself of the opportunity afforded, by my residence in a
“ *Bauddha* country, for collecting and transmitting to Calcutta the
“ materials for such investigation. There were, however, serious
“ obstacles in my way, arising out of the jealousy of the people in
“ regard to any profanation of their sacred things by an European, and
“ yet more, resulting from the Chinese notions of policy adopted by this
“ government. I nevertheless persevered; and time, patience, and
“ dexterous applications to the superior intelligence of the chief minister,
“ at length rewarded my toils.

“ My first object was to ascertain the existence or otherwise of *Bauddha*
“ Scriptures in Nipál; and to this end I privately instituted inquiries in
“ various directions, in the course of which the reputation for knowledge
“ of an old *Bauddha* residing in the city of *Pátan*, drew one of my people
“ to his abode. This old man assured me that Nipál contained many large
“ works relating to Buddhism; and of some of these he gave me a list.
“ Subsequently, when better acquainted, he volunteered to procure me
“ copies of them. His list gradually enlarged as his confidence increased;
“ and at length, chiefly through his kindness, and his influence with his
“ brethren in the *Bauddha* faith, I was enabled to procure and transmit
“ to Calcutta a large collection of important *Bauddha* scriptures.

“ Meanwhile, as the *Pátan Bauddha* seemed very intelligent, and my
“ curiosity was excited, I proposed to him (about four years ago) a set of
“ questions, which I desired he would answer from his books. He did so ;
“ and these questions and answers form the text of the paper which I herewith
“ forward. The reason why I have so long kept it to myself, is, that with the
“ lapse of time my opportunities for obtaining information increased ; and I
“ at length persuaded the sensible minister of this state to permit my old
“ friend to visit me. Having in his answers quoted sundry *ślókas* in proof
“ of his statements ; and many of the scriptures whence these were taken
“ being now in my possession, I was tempted to try the truth of his
“ quotations. Of that, my research gave me in general satisfactory proof.
“ But the possession of the books led to questions respecting their relative
“ age and authority ; and, tried by this test, the *Bauddha's* quotations were
“ not always so satisfactory. Thus one step led to another, until I con-
“ ceived the idea of drawing up, with the aid of my old friend and his
“ books, a sketch of the terminology and general disposition of the external
“ parts of Buddhism, in the belief that such a sketch, though but imperfectly
“ executed, would be of some assistance to such of my countrymen as,
“ with the books only before them, might be disposed to enter into a full and
“ accurate investigation of this almost unknown subject.

“ When, however, I conceived that design, I little suspected where it
“ would lead me ; I began ere long to feel my want of languages, and (to
“ confess the truth) of patience, and almost looked back with a sigh to the
“ tolerably full and tolerably accurate account of Buddhism which I had
“ obtained so long ago, and with little comparative labour, from my old
“ friend's answers to my queries. I also saw certain notices of Buddhism
“ coming from time to time before the world, ushered by the talents and
“ industry of Klaproth and Remusat ; and, so far as I had opportunity to
“ learn what these notices contained, it seemed that the answers to my
“ questions furnished much ampler and more accurate views of the subject
“ than these distinguished men could extract from their limited sources of
“ information.

“ These considerations have induced me to present, without further delay,
“ the accompanying paper to Mr. Colebrooke, to whose sound knowledge
“ if it be first submitted, there can be no danger of the publication being
“ made without sufficient warrant for its usefulness. Whether or not I shall
“ persevere in the undertaking before hinted at, I can hardly venture to say ;

“ but from the larger information latterly collected by me with a view to
 “ its completion, I have drawn some notes in correction or enlargement of
 “ the paper now transmitted, and have placed them on its margin.

“ I add to this letter a very considerable list of the *Bauddha* scriptures in
 “ general, extracted for me from those still existing in Nipál.

“ Of so many of those scriptures as I have procured and sent to Calcutta
 “ I have furnished to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a meagre explanatory
 “ catalogue. Of the rest I can obtain here only the names ; and, as it would
 “ be useless to repeat what has been already said of some of these books, I
 “ forward the présent list, without further observation on it, than, that its
 “ accuracy may be relied on, and that its contents are so far from being
 “ local to Nipál, that the largest portion of the books neither are, nor ever
 “ were procurable in this valley.

“ The *Bauddhas* were used, in old time, to insert at the end of any par-
 “ ticular work, lists of the names of many of their sacred writings ; and to
 “ this usage of theirs am I indebted for the large catalogue which I have
 “ obtained.”

LIST OF BAUDDHA SCRIPTURES.

बुद्धशास्त्रलब्धानिबुद्धशास्त्रस्थपुराणतन्त्रधारणीकावकोषनामानि

पुराणनामानि

पंचविंशतिसहस्रिका	सद्धर्मपुण्डरीका
प्रथमखण्डरक्षाभगवती	ललितविस्तरा
द्वितीयखण्डरक्षाभगवती	तथागतगुत्थका
तृतीयखण्डरक्षाभगवती	सुवर्णप्रभासा
चतुर्थखण्डरक्षाभगवती	महावस्तूअवदान
अष्टसहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता	दिवावदान
गण्डव्यूहा	शतकावदान
दशभूमीश्वरा	भद्रकल्पावदान
समाधिराज	अशोकावदान
लंकावतार	विचित्रकर्णिकावदान

डाविंशत्यवदान	उपोषधावदान
रत्नमालावदान	कुशमुदर्शनावदान
अवदानरत्नमाला	जातकावदान
अवदानकल्पलता	जातकमाला
सुगतावदान	महज्जातकमाला
बोधिचर्यावितार	सुभागधावदान
धर्मकोश	स्वयंभूपुराण
धर्मसंग्रह	बृहत्स्वयंभूपुराण
विनेयसूत्र	मध्यमस्वयंभूपुराण
महायानसूत्र	स्वायंभुवपुराण
महायानसूत्रालंकार	कारणउव्यूह
गोष्ठंगव्याख्यान	गुणकारणउव्यूह
सच्चक्रतावदान	सुखावतीव्यूह
पिण्डपात्रावदान	करूणापुण्डरीका
कठिनावदान	दीपंकरवस्तू
नन्दीमुखाश्वघोषावदान	चैत्रपुंगव
सुचन्द्रावदान	चैत्यमाहात्म्य
धीमत्यवदान	लालित्यविस्तर
वसुन्धराव्रत	लौकिकलंकावतार
मणिचूडावदान	शृंगभेर्यवदान
लक्षचैत्यव्रतानुशंसा	कार्तिकव्रतानुशंसा
कविकुमारावदान	

६३

काव्यनामानि

बुद्धचरितकाव्य	लोकेश्वरशतकं
गौतमकाव्य	अञ्जरा
पुण्यप्रोत्साहनाकथा	

५

थाकरणनामानि

चान्द्रथाकरण
प्रयोगमुखथाकरण

प्रक्रियाथाकरण
सारस्वतीथाकरण

४

कोषनामानि

अमरकोष
त्रिकाण्डशेषकोष
नानार्थकोष
अनेकार्थमंजरीकोष

एकाक्षरकोष
विश्वप्रकाशकोष
विश्वकोष

तंत्रपुस्तकनामानि

परमाद्यमहायोगतंत्र
परमार्थसेवा तंत्र
पिण्डीक्रम
संपुटोद्भव
हेवज्रतंत्र
बुद्धकपाल
संवरतंत्र
वाराहीतंत्र
योगाम्बरतंत्र
उकिनीजालतंत्र
शुक्लयमारीतंत्र
कृष्णयमारीतंत्र
पीतयमारितंत्र
रक्तयमारितंत्र
श्यामयमारितंत्र

क्रियासंयहनंत्र
क्रियाकाण्डतंत्र
क्रियासागरतंत्र
क्रियाकल्पद्रुमतंत्र
क्रियार्णवतंत्र
अभिधानोत्तरतंत्र
क्रियासमुच्चयतंत्र
साधनमालातंत्र
साधनसमुच्चय
साधनकल्पलता
साधनसंयहनंत्र
साधनरत्नतंत्र
साधनपरीक्षातंत्र
तत्त्वज्ञानसिद्धितंत्र
ज्ञानसिद्धितंत्र

गुह्यसिद्धितंत्र	कुरुकुलातंत्र
ओडिपानतंत्र	भूतडामरतंत्र
नागार्जुनतंत्र	कालचक्रतंत्र
योगपीठतंत्र	योगिनीसंचारतंत्र
पीठावतारतंत्र	योगिनीजालतंत्र
कलवीरतंत्र	योगिनीतंत्र
चण्डरोषणतंत्र	योगावरपीठ
महाकालतंत्र	उडामरतंत्र
वज्रवीरतंत्र	वसुंधरासाधन
वज्रसत्त्वतंत्र	नैरात्म्यतंत्र
मारीचीतंत्र	डाकार्णवतंत्र
तारातंत्र	क्रियासारतंत्र
वज्रधातुतंत्र	यमान्तकतंत्र
विमलप्रभातंत्र	मञ्जुश्रीकल्प
मणिकर्णिकातंत्र	तंत्रसमुच्चय
त्रैलोक्यविजयातंत्र	दुर्गतिपरिशोधन
संपुटतंत्र	क्रियावतंसतंत्र

६४

धारणीपुस्तकनामानि

धारणीसंग्रह	साहस्रप्रमर्दिनी
पंचबुद्धधारणी	महामायूरीधारणी
प्रज्ञापारमिताधारणी	शीतवतीधारणी
सप्तशक्तिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता	महामंत्रानुसारिणी
पंचवोधिसत्त्वधारणी	सप्तवारधारणी
पंचरक्षापाठ	वसुंधराधारणी
प्रतिसराधारणि	वज्रविद्राविणीधारणी

गणपतिहृदया	धा०	एकजटा	धा०
उष्णीषविजया	धा०	वज्रधात्वेश्वरी	धा०
पर्णशिवरी	धा०	लोचना	धा०
मारीची	धा०	मामकीधारणी	
महमातृका	धा०	पाण्डुरा	धा०
प्रत्यंगिरा	धा०	तारा	धा०
ध्वजामकेयूरी	धा०	वज्रषट्वात्मिका	धा०
महामायाविजयवाहिनी		जंभलजलेन्द्र	धा०
पद्मपाणिधारणी		गण्डव्यूह	धा०
अभयंकरीधारणी		दशभूमीश्वर	धा०
लोकेश्वरधारणी		समाधिराज	धा०
मंजुश्रीप्रतिज्ञा	धा०	लंकावतार	धा०
अरयचन	धा०	ललितविस्तर	धा०
अपरिमिता	धा०	तथागतगुह्यका	धा०
दुर्गतिशोधनी	धा०	सुवर्णप्रभा	धा०
ताराधारणी		मेघसूत्र	धा०
आर्यताराशतनाम		हुताशनीधारणी	
मंजुश्रीभद्रभद्रचरी		गगनगंज	धा०
पद्मोत्तमधारणी		खसर्य	धा०
सकलोत्तम	धा०	हलाहल	धा०
शाक्यमुनि	धा०	सिंहनाद	धा०
प्रज्ञापारमिता	धा०	सहस्रभुज	धा०
अमोघपाश	धा०	कारणव्यूह	धा०
अरपचनमंजुश्री		हरिवाहन	धा०
सर्वलोकेश्वर	धारणी	षडक्षरीधारणी	
उद्यतारा	धा०	रत्नगर्भ	धा०

सङ्गमपुण्डरीक		मञ्जुघोष धारणी	
सुखावती	धा.	समंतभद्रभद्रचरी	
नीलकण्ठ	धा.	प्रणिधानभद्रचरी	
मुखोत्तीर्णसिद्धिनिका.	धा	पंचप्रज्ञाधारणी	७५
रोगप्रशमनी धारणी			

N.B. There are a few *repetitions* in this list : the cause of which is, that the list is composed of literal extracts from the catalogues subjoined to sundry independent scriptures.

When I stated, in the letter which accompanies these papers, that this list might be relied on, I ought to have restricted the expression to the enumeration of *names simply* : for the classification of *its* nomenclature (as *purānas, tantras, &c.*) is the work of my old friend, and is doubtfully deducible from the authority of his books.

What I have gathered on the subject of the arrangement of generic and specific titles of the *Bauddha* scriptures, I have stated to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. Suffice it here to say, that *Sūtra* and *Dharma* are the most general titles of Buddhist works of religion ; and that the *Bauddha* equivalents for the Brahmanic *Purāna* and *Tantra* seem to be *Vyākaraṇa*, and *Upadēsa*.

B. H. HODGSON.

Extract of a Letter from BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, Esq.
to Dr. NATHANIEL WALLICH.

“ Nipāl, 17th October 1827.

“ In a clever paper in the first and second numbers of the Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine (Review of the Bombay Literary Transactions),
“ it is said that one of the distinctions between Jainism and Buddhism is, that
“ the *Jaina* statues are all naked, and the *Bauddha* statues all clothed. The
“ pictures now sent you * are proofs that this notion is false. You see too
“ that my *Bauddha* images are called *Digambara*, a name heretofore fancied
“ to be peculiar to Jainism ; this is another error, and were this the place for
“ dissertation, I could bring forward many other presumptions in favour of

* See Plate I, fig. a. b.

“ the notion that the *Jainas* are sectarian *Bauddhas*, who dissented from
 “ their *Bauddha* brethren merely in carrying to a gross excess, and in
 “ promulgating publicly, certain dangerous dogmas, which the more prudent
 “ *Bauddhists* chose to keep veiled from all but the initiated. The Nipál
 “ *Bauddhists* are very jealous of any intrusion into their esoteric dogmas
 “ and symbols; so much so, that though I have been for seven years
 “ enquiring after these things, my old *Vajra Acharya* friend only recently
 “ gave me a peep at the esoteric dogmas; and my *Chitrakár* (*Bauddha*
 “ though he be) has only within these last twelve months brought me some
 “ esoteric pictures: nor probably should I have got at these secret things
 “ at all, if I had not been able to examine the *Bauddha* books, in some
 “ small degree, myself; and if a *Bhótiya* had not put into my hands a
 “ picture containing one of these naked saints. With these decisive means
 “ of questioning in my power, I at last got my *Bauddha* assistants to draw
 “ up the veil of the sanctuary, to bring me copies of the naked saints, and
 “ to tell me a little of the naked doctrines.”

Extract of a Letter from BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, Esq.
 to Dr. NATHANIEL WALLICH.

“ Nipál, 1st November 1827.

“ I cannot just now go into a description of the significance of all the
 “ details of the sculptures which I have sent. Suffice it to say, that every
 “ part of each image is significant; and that the differences between the
 “ five are marked, first, by the different position of the hands (which is
 “ called the *múdra*); secondly, by the variety of the supporters; thirdly,
 “ by the variety of the cognizances placed between the supporters; and
 “ fourthly (where painting and colours are used), by difference of colour.
 “ *Vairóchana's* appropriate colour is white; *Akshóbhya's*, blue; *Ratna-*
 “ *Sambhava's*, yellow, or golden; *Amitábha's*, red; and *Amogha-Siddha's*,
 “ green.”*

Extract of a Letter from BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, Esq.
 to HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq., Dir. R.A.S.

“ I beg to present you with the accompanying sketch of Buddhism.
 “ There are a few matters connected with it, which it may be advisable to
 “ state to you; and in the first rank stands the authority upon which I

* See Plate I, fig. c, d, e, f, g.

“ have assigned the meaning of intellectual essence to the word *Buddha*,
 “ and that of material essence to the word *Dharma*. The *Bauddhas* define
 “ the words thus : ‘ *Bóadhan átmaká iti Buddha ; Dháran átmaká iti Dharma.*’
 “ About the former of these definitions there can be no difficulty ; there
 “ may concerning the latter. To the word *Dhárana*, or holding, containing,
 “ sustaining (from the root *dhri*), I have assigned a material sense ; first,
 “ because it is opposed to *bódhana* ; secondly, because the goddess *DHARMA*,
 “ the *pravṛttika* personification of this principle, is often styled, in the
 “ most authentic books, ‘ *Prakṛitéswarí,*’ the material goddess, or goddess
 “ of matter ; and thirdly, because this goddess is (under the names
 “ *DHARMA, PRAJNYÁ, ARYÁ TARÁ, &c.*) in very many passages of old
 “ *Bauddha* works, described as the material cause of all things ; conform-
 “ ably, indeed, with that bias towards materialism, which our heretofore
 “ scanty knowledge of Buddhism has led us to assign to the *Saugata* faith.

“ *Sanga*, the third member of the Triad, belongs not to the exalted
 “ state of *nirvṛtti*, in which no sect of *Bauddhas* admits more than two
 “ principles of all things, or matter and mind, *Buddha* and *Dharma*. *Sanga*
 “ is defined ‘ *Samúdayi átmaká iti Sangya,*’ the multitudinous essence ; be-
 “ cause multitude is held to be as strong a characteristic of *pravṛtti*, or the
 “ palpable world, as unity is of the world of *nirvṛtti*, or abstraction.

“ In note 31, I have distinctly rejected the fifth order of *Bandyas*, or
 “ *Vajra Acháryas*, in opposition to my old *Bauddha* friend’s statement in the
 “ text of the Sketch. There can be no doubt that my friend is mistaken :
 “ for in many high authorities, the four original and true orders of *Bandyas*
 “ are called by the collective name of the ‘ *Chatúr Varna,*’ and are therein
 “ described without mention of the *Vajra Acháryas*. It may serve to
 “ explain my friend’s statement, to tell you that he is himself a *Vajra*
 “ *Achárya* ; and that as the genuine monachism of Buddhism has long
 “ since passed away in Nipál, sundry local books have been composed here
 “ by *Vajra Acháryas*, in which they have made their own modern order
 “ co-equal with the four ancient orders ; and my old friend would hold
 “ these modern Nipál books sufficient warrant for the rank ascribed to *his*
 “ *own class*. I have lately spoken to him on this subject, and he has con-
 “ fessed that there is no *old* authority for his fifth order of *Bandyas*. In
 “ my note I have endeavoured carefully to separate Buddhism *as it is* (in
 “ Nipál) and Buddhism *as it ought to be*, *quoad* this point of classification.
 “ If you look into Kirkpatrick’s and Buchanan’s works on Nipál, you will

“ see how they have been puzzled with the difference of things as they are
 “ from what they ought to be, in those casual and erroneous hints which
 “ they have afforded on the subject of Buddhism.

“ In note 15, I have stated that the *Kármikas* and *Yátnakas* entertained
 “ tolerably just views on the grand subject of free-will and necessity ; and
 “ I believe I am therein essentially correct : for how otherwise are we to
 “ understand their confession of faith, ‘ the actions of a man’s prior births
 “ ‘ are his destiny ?’ Exclude the metempsychosis, which is the vehicle of
 “ the sense of this passage, and we have our old adage, ‘ Conduct is fate :’
 “ a law of freedom surely.

“ Still, were I cross-examined, I might be forced to confess, that the
 “ ideas which the *Kármikas* and *Yátnakas* entertain of free-will, seem to
 “ resemble rather the qualifications of our Collins and Edwards, than the
 “ full and absolute freedom of Clarke and the best European philosophers.

“ The *Kármikas* and *Yátnakas* seem to have been impressed with the *fact*
 “ of man’s free-will, but to have been perplexed in reconciling such a
 “ notion with the general spirit and tendency of the old *Swabhávica* phi-
 “ losophy. But in the result, the *Kármikas* and *Yátnakas* seem to have
 “ adhered to free-will, though perhaps in the qualified sense above men-
 “ tioned.”

SKETCH OF BUDDHISM.

QUESTION I.

How and when was the world created ?

ANSWER.

According to the *Sámbhú Purána*, in the beginning all was void (*súnya*). The first light that was manifest was the word *Aum* ; and from this *Aum* the alphabet was produced—called *Mahá Varna*, the letters of which are the seeds of the universe. (See note 1.) In the *Guna Kárandá Vyúha* it is written, when nothing else was, SÁMBHÚ was ; that is the self-existent (*Swayambhú*) ; and as he was before all, he is also called ADI BUDDHA. He wished from one to become many, which desire is denominated *Prajnya*. BUDDHA and PRAJNYA united became PRAJNYA UPÁYA, as SIVA SAKTI, or BRAHMA MÁYA. (See note 2.) In the instant of conceiving this desire, five forms or beings were produced, called the five BUDDHAS (see note 3), whose names

are as follows: VAIRÓCHANA, AKSHÓBHYA, RATNA-SAMBHAVA, AMITÁBHA, AMÓGHA-SIDDHA.* Each of these BUDDHAS, again, produced from himself, by means of *Dhyán*, another being called his *Bódhi-Satwa*, or son. VAIRÓCHANA produced SAMANT-BHADRA; AKSHÓBHYA, VAJRA-PÁNI; RATNA-SAMBHAVA, RATNA-PÁNI; AMITÁBHA, PADMA-PÁNI; and AMÓGHA-SIDDHA, VISWA-PÁNI.†

Of these five *Bódhi-Satwas*, four are engrossed with the worship of SÁMBHÚ (*Swayambhú*), and nothing more is known of them than their names; the fifth, PADMA-PÁNI, was engaged, by SÁMBHÚ's command, in creation (see note 4); and having, by the efficacy of SÁMBHÚ's *Dhyán*, assumed the virtues of the three *Gunas*, he created BRAHMÁ, VISHNU, and MAHÉSA, and delegated to them respectively creation, preservation, and destruction. Accordingly, by PADMA-PÁNI's commands, BRAHMÁ set about creating all things; and the *Chatúr-yóni* (or oviparous, viviparous, &c.‡) came into existence by BRAHMÁ. The creation of BRAHMÁ, VISHNU, and MAHÉSA by PADMA-PÁNI, is confirmed by the *sloca* (see note 5), the meaning of which is, 'KAMALI (PADMA-PÁNI) produced BRAHMÁ for creating, VISHNU for preserving, and MAHÉSA for destroying.' And the creation of BRAHMÁ is six-sorted, viz. *Déva*, *Daitya*, *Mánusha*, &c.; and, for the *Dévas*, BRAHMÁ made heaven; and for the *Daityas*, *Patála*; and the four remaining kinds he placed between these two regions and upon the earth.

With respect to the mansions (*Bhuvanas*) of the universe, it is related, that the highest is called *Agnishtha Bhuvana*; and this is the abode of A'DI-BUDDHA. And below it, according to some accounts, there are ten; and according to others, thirteen *Bhuvanas* (see note 6); named, *Pramóditá*, *Vimalá*, *Prabhákari*, *Archishmatí*, *Sudúrjayá*, *Abhimukhí*, *Dúrangamá*, *Achalá*, *Sádhumatí*, *Dharma-mégla* (x), *Samant-prabhá*, *Nirúpamá*, *Jnyánavatí* (xiii). These thirteen *Bhuvanas* are the work of A'DI-BUDDHA: they are the *Bódhi-Satwa-Bhuvanas*; and whoever is a faithful follower of BUDDHA will be translated to one of these mansions after death.

Below the thirteen *Bódhi-satwa Bhuvanas* are eighteen *Bhuvanas*, called collectively *Rúpya Vachara*. These are subject to BRAHMÁ, and are named individually: *Brahma-káyiká*, *Brahma-púróhitá*, *Brahma-prashádyá*, *Mahá Brahmaná*, *Paritábhá*, *Apramánábhá*, *Abháswará*, *Parita-subhá*, *Subha-*

* See Plate I, fig. c, d, e, f, g.

† See Plate II, fig. g, h, i, k, l.

‡ By et cætera always understand more *Brahmanorum*.

kishná, Anabhraká, Púnya-prasavá, Vrihat-phúlá, Arangi-satwá, Avrihá, Apayá, Sudrishá, Sudarsaná, and Sumúkhá. Pious worshippers of BRAHMÁ shall go to one of these eighteen *Bhuvanas* after death.

And below the eighteen mansions of BRAHMÁ, are six others subject to VISHNÚ, called collectively *Káma-Vachará*, and separately as follows: *Chatúr-Mahá-rája-Káyiká, Trayastrinsá, Túshitá, Yamá, Nirmánavatí, Paranirmítá-Vasavartí.* And whosoever worships VISHNU with pure heart shall go to one of these.

And below the six *Bhuvanas* of VISHNU are the three *Bhuvanas* of MAHÁ-DEVÁ, called generally *A'rúpya-Vachará*, and particularly as follows: *Abhógá-Nitya-yatnópagá, Vijn'yá-yatnópagá, Akinchanya-yatnópagá*; and these are the heavens designed for pious *Siva-Márgis*. Below the mansions enumerated, are *Indra Bhuvana, Yama Bhuvana, Súrya Bhuvana, and Chandra Bhuvana*; together with the mansions of the fixed stars, of the planets, and various others which occupy the space down to the *Agni Bhuvana*, also called *Agni-kúnd*. And below *Agni-kúnd* is *Vayu-kúnd*; and below *Vayu-kúnd* is *Prithví*, or the earth; and on the earth are seven *Dwipas, Jambú Dwipa, &c.*; and seven *Ságaras* or seas, and eight *Parvatas* or mountains (see note 7), *Suméru Parvata, &c.* And below *Prithví* is *Jala-kúnd*, or the world of waters; and the earth is on the waters as a boat. And below the *Jala-kúnd* are seven *Pátálas*, as *Dharani, &c.*: six of them are the abodes of the *Daityas*; and the seventh is *Naraka*, consisting of eight separate abodes: and these eight compose the hell of sinners: and from the eighteen *Bhuvanas* of BRAHMÁ down to the eight chambers of *Naraka*, all is the work of MANJÚSRI. MANJÚSRI is by the *Bauddhas* esteemed the great architect, who constructs the mansions of the world by A'DI-BUDDHA's command, as PADMA-PÁNI, by his command, creates all animate things.

Thus MANJÚSRI (see note 8) is the VISVA-KARMA of the *Bauddhas*; and is also the author of the sixty-four *Vidyás*.

QUESTION II.

What was the origin of mankind?

ANSWER.

It is written in the narrative portion of our *Tantras*, that originally the earth was uninhabited. In those times the inhabitants of *Abhásvara Bhuvana* (which is one of the *Bhuvanas* of BRAHMÁ) used frequently to visit the earth, and thence speedily to return to *Abhásward*. It happened

at length, that, when a few of these beings, who, though half males and half females, had never yet, from the purity of their minds, conceived the sexual desire, or even noticed their distinction of sex, came, as usual, to the earth, A'DI-BUDDHA suddenly created in them so violent a longing to eat, that they ate some of the earth, which had the taste of almonds, and by eating it they lost their power of flying back to their *Bluvana*, and so they remained on the earth. They were now constrained to eat the fruits of the earth for sustenance; and from eating these fruits they conceived the sexual desire, and began to associate together: and from that time, and in that manner, the origin of mankind commenced from the union of the sexes. (See note 9.)

When the beings above-mentioned came last from *Abhdswardi*, MAHÁ SAMVAT was their leader, and he was the first king of the whole earth.

In another *Tantra* it is written, that A'DI-BUDDHA is the immediate creator of all things in heaven and earth.

With respect to time we conceive the *Satya-yuga* to be the beginning of time, and the *Kali-yuga* the end of it: and the duration of the four *yugas*, the particulars of which are found in the Brahmanical scriptures, have no place in our's: in which it is merely written that there are four *yugas*; and that in the first, men lived 80,000 years; in the second, 10,000; in the third, 1,000: and the fourth is divided into four periods; in the first of which, men will live 100 years; in the second, fifty years; in the third, twenty-five years; and in the fourth, when the close of the *Kali-yuga* is approaching, seven years only; and their stature will be only the height of the thumb; and then all things will be destroyed, and A'DI-BUDDHA alone remain: and this period of four *yugas* is a *Pralaya*. A'DI-BUDDHA will then again create the four *yugas*, and all things else to live in their duration, which when completed, all things will be again destroyed, and thus there will be seventy-one *pralayas*, or completions of the four *yugas*, when *Máha Pralaya* will arrive. How many revolutions of the four *yugas* (*i. e.* how many *pralayas*) have now passed, and how many remain to revolve, is nowhere written.

QUESTION III.

What is matter, and what spirit?

ANSWER.

Body (see note 10), which is called *Saríra* and *Déha*, was produced from the five elements and soul, which is called *prána* and *jiva*, and is a particle of

the essence of A'DI-BUDDHA. Body, as created out of the elements, perisheth: soul, as a particle of the divine spirit, perisheth not; body is subject to changes—to be fat and lean, &c.; soul is unchangeable. Body is different in all animals; soul is alike in all, whether in man or any other creature. But men have, besides *prāna*, the faculty of speech, which other animals have not; according to the *sloca*, of which the meaning is this: “*Déha* is derived from the five *Bhútas*, and *Jíva* from the *Angas* of SWAYAMBHÚ.” (See note 11.)

QUESTION IV.

Is matter an independent existence, or derived from God?

ANSWER.

Body, according to some, depends upon the inhaling and exhaling of the *Prāna-Vāyu*; and this inhalation and exhalation of the breath is by virtue of the soul (*prāna*), which virtue, according to some, is derived from God, and according to others (see note 12), is inherent in itself: there is much diversity of opinion on this subject. Some of the *Buddha-mārgis* contend that *déha* (the body) is *Swabhāva*; *i. e.* from the copulation of males and females, new bodies proceed; and they ask who makes the eyes, the flesh, the limbs, &c. of the foetus in the mother's womb? *Swabhāva*! And the thorns of the desert, who points them? *Swabhāva*! And the timidity of the deer kind, and the fury of the ravenous beasts, whence are they? from *Swabhāva*!

And this is a specimen of their reasoning and proofs, according to a *sloca* of the *Buddha-charita-kāvya*. (See note 13.) Some again say, that *déha* and *sansāra* are *Aishwarika* (see note 14), *i. e.* produced by ISWARA, or A'DI-BUDDHA, according to another *sloca*.

Some again call the world and the human body *Kārmika*, *i. e.* that *Karma* is the cause of this existence of *déha* and *sansāra*; and they liken the first *déha* to a field (*kshétra*), and works to a seed. And they relate, that the first body which man received was created solely by A'DI-BUDDHA; and at that time works affected it not: but when man put off his first body, the next body which he received was subject to *Karma*, or the works of the *first* body (see note 15); and so was the next, and all future ones, until he attained to *Mukti* and *Móksha*: and therefore they say, that whoever would be free from transmigration must pay his devotions to BUDDHA, and consecrate all his worldly goods to BUDDHA, nor ever after suffer such things to excite his desires. And, in the *Buddha-Charita-Kāvya* it is written, that

with respect to these points, SÁKYA expressed the following opinion: "Some persons say that *Sānsāra* is *Swabhāvakā*, some that it is *Kārmikā*, and some that it is *Aiswarikā* and *A'tmakā*; for myself, I can tell you nothing of these matters. Do you address your meditation to BUDDHA; and when you have attained *Bōdhijnyāna*, you will know the truth yourselves."

QUESTION V.

What are the attributes of God?

ANSWER.

His distinctive attributes are many; one of which is, that he is *Panch-jnyānātmaka* (see note 16), or in his essence are five sorts of *jnyāna*, possessed by him alone, and which are as follows: first, *Suvisuddha-Dharma-Dhātūja*; second, *Adarsanāja*; third, *Pratyavékshanāja*; fourth, *Samtāja*; fifth, *Anúshthánaja*. The first created beings, VAIRÓCHANA, &c., were in number five, owing to these five *jnyānas*; and in each of these five *Buddhas* is one of the *jnyānas*. Another of A'DI-BUDDHA's attributes is the faculty of individualizing, and multiplying himself, and again individualizing himself at pleasure: another is, possessing the qualities of passion and clemency.

QUESTION VI.

Is the pleasure of God derived from action or repose?

ANSWER.

There are two modes of considering this subject: first, according to *nirvr̥tti*; and, secondly, according to *prav̥tti*.

Nirvr̥tti (see note 17) is this: to know the world to be a mere semblance, unreal, and an illusion; and to know God to be one: and *Prav̥tti* is the opposite of this sublime science and is the practice and notions of ordinary men. Therefore, according to *nirvr̥tti*, A'DI-BUDDHA is the author and creator of all things, without whom nothing can be done; whose care sustains the world and its inhabitants; and the moment he averts his face from them they became annihilated, and nothing remains but Himself. But some persons, who profess *nirvr̥tti*, contend that the world with all it containeth is distinct from A'DI-BUDDHA: yet the wise know this to be an error. (See note 18.)

A'DI-BUDDHA, though he comprehends all living things, is yet one. He is the soul, and they are but the limbs and outward members, of this monad. Such is *nirvr̥tti*, which, being deeply studied, is found to be unity; but

pravṛtti, which is multiplicity, may be distinguished in all things. And in this latter view of *pravṛtti*, A'DI-BUDDHA may be considered a king, who gives orders; and the five *Buddhas*, and other divinities of heaven, his ministers, who execute his orders; and we, poor mortals, his subjects, servants, and slaves. In this way the business of the world is distributed among the deities, each having his proper functions; and A'DI-BUDDHA has no concern with it. Thus the five *Buddhas* give *mukti* (see note 19) and *moksha* to good men: BRAHMÁ, by the orders of PADMA-PĀNI, performs the part of creator; VISHNU, by the same orders, cherishes all beings; and MAHA DÉVA, by the same orders, destroys; YAMA takes cognizance of sins, and punishes sinners; INDRA and VARÚNA give rain; and the sun and moon fructify the earth with their rays; and so of the rest.

QUESTION VII.

Who is BUDDHA? Is he God, or the creator, or a prophet or saint; born of heaven, or of a woman?

ANSWER.

BUDDHA means, in Sanscrit, the wise; also, that which is known by wisdom; and it is one of the names which we give to God, whom we also call A'DI-BUDDHA, because he was before all, and is not created, but is the creator: and the *Pancha Buddhas* were created by him, and are in the heavens. SÁKYA, and the rest of the seven human *Buddhas** are earth-born or human. These latter, by the worship of BUDDHA, arrived at the highest eminence, and attained *Nirvána Pad* (i.e. were absorbed into A'DI-BUDDHA). (See note 20.) We therefore call them all *Buddhas*.

QUESTION VIII.

What is the reason for BUDDHA being represented with curled locks?

ANSWER.

A'DI-BUDDHA was never seen. He is merely light. (See note 21.) But in the pictures of VAIRÓCHANA, and the other *Buddhas*, we have the curled hair; and since in the limbs and organs we discriminate thirty-two (*lacshanas*) points of beauty, such as expansion of forehead, blackness of the eyes, roundness of the head, elevation of the nose, and archedness of the eye-brows; so also the having curled locks is one of the points of beauty and

* See Plate IV, fig. f.

and there is no other reason for BUDDHA's being represented with curled locks. (See note 22.)

QUESTION IX.

What are the names of the *great* BUDDHA? Does the *Néwári* language admit the word BUDDHA, or any substitute for it? and what is the *Bhótiya* name for BUDDHA?

ANSWER.

The names of A'DI-BUDDHA are innumerable: SARVAJNYA, SUGATA, BUDDHA, DHARMA-RÁJA, TATHÁGATA, BHAGAVÁN, SAMANT-BHADRA, MÁRAJÍTA, LÓKAJÍTA, JINA, ANÁDINIDHÁNA, A'DI-BUDDHA, NIRANDHAKA, JNYÁNAIKA-CHAKSHÚ, AMALA, JNYÁNA-MÚRTI, VÁCHÉS'WARA, MAHÁ-VÁDI, VÁDIRÁTA, VÁDIPÚNGAVA, VÁDISINHA, and PARAJATÁ. VAIRÓCHANA, and the other five *Buddhas*, have also many names. Some of VAIRÓCHANA's are as follows: MAHÁ-DÍPTI, JNYÁNA, JYÓTISH, JAGAT-PRAVRĪTTI, MAHÁTÉJAS, &c.; and so of the other four. PADMA-PÁNI also has many names, as, PADMA-PÁNI, KAMALI, PADMA-HASTA, PADMA-KARA, KAMALA-HASTA, KAMALAKARA, KAMAL-PÁNI, ARYÁ-VALÓKITÉS'WARA, ARYÁVALÓKÉSWAR, AVLÓKITES'WAR, and LÓKA-NÁTHA. (See note 23). Many of the above names are intercommunicable between the several persons to whom they are here appropriated. BUDDHA is a Sanscrit word, not *Néwári*: the *Bhótiya* names I do not know; but I have heard they call SÁKYA SINHA, SUNGI THÚBA: *Sungi* meaning the deity, and *Thúba* his *Alaya* or *Vihár*.

QUESTION X.

In the opinion of the *Banras*, did God ever make a descent on earth? if so, how often; and what is the Sanscrit and *Néwári* name of each *Avatára*?

ANSWER.

According to the scriptures of the *Buddhamárgis*, neither A'DI-BUDDHA nor any of the *Pancha Buddha Dhyáni* (see note 24), ever made a descent; that is to say, they were never conceived in mortal womb; nor had they father or mother; but certain persons of mortal mould have by degrees attained to such excellence of nature and such *Bódhijnýdna*, as to have been gifted with divine wisdom, and to have taught the *Bóddhi-charya* and *Buddhamúrگا*, and these were seven, named: VIPASYA, SIKHI, VISWA-BHÚ, KARKÚTCHAND, KANAKAMÚNI, KÁSYAPA, SÁKYA-SINHA.

In the *Satya-yuga* were three: VIPASYA, who was born in *Vindúmati Nagar*, in the house of VINDÚMÁN RÁJÁ; SIKHI, in *U'rna Désa*; and

VISVABHÚ, in *Anúpamá Désa*, in the house of a *Kshatriya* : in the *Trétá-yuga*, two persons became *Buddhas* ; one KARKÚTCHAND, in *Kshémávati Nagar*, in the house of a *Brahman* ; the other KANAKA MÚNI, in *S'úbhávati Nagar*, in the house of a *Brahman* : and in the *Dwapar-yuga*, one person named KÁSYAPA, in *Váránasi Nagar*, in the house of a *Brahman* : and in the *Kali-yuga*, SÁKYA, then called SARVÁRTHA SIDDHA (see note 25), in the house of SUDHÓDANA RÁJÁ, a *Sákyavansi*, in the city of *Kapálvastú*, which is near *Gangásdgar*, became *Buddhas*. Besides these seven, there are many illustrious persons ; but none equal to these. The particular history of these seven, and of other *Buddhas*, is written in the *Lalita Vistara*. (See note 25.)

QUESTION XI.

How many *Avatáras* of *Buddhas* have there been, according to the Lamas ?

ANSWER.

They agree with us in the worship of the seven *Buddhas*, the difference in our notions being extremely small ; but the Lamas go further than this, and contend that themselves are *Avatáras*. I have heard from my father, that, in his time, there were five Lamas esteemed divine : the names of three of them I have forgotten, but the remaining two are called SHÁMURPÁ and KÁRMAPÁ.

QUESTION XII.

Do the Lamas worship the *Avatáras* recognized by the *Néwárs* ?

ANSWER.

The Lamas are orthodox *Buddhamárgis*, and even carry their orthodoxy to a greater extent than we do. Insomuch, that it is said, that SÁNKARA A'CHÁRYA, *S'iva-Márgí*, having destroyed the worship of BUDDHA and the scriptures containing its doctrine in Hindust'han, came to Nípál, where also he effected much mischief ; and then proceeded to *Bhóte*. There he had a conference with the grand Lama. The Lama, who never bathes, and after natural evacuations does not use topical ablution, disgusted him to that degree, that he commenced reviling the Lama. The Lama replied, " I keep my inside pure, although my outside be impure ; while you carefully purify yourself without, but are filthy within : " and at the same time he drew out his whole entrails, and shewed them to SANKARA ; and then replaced them again. He then demanded an answer of S'ANKARA. S'ANKARA, by virtue of his *yóga*, ascended into the heavens ; the Lama

perceiving the shadow of SANKARA's body on the ground, fixed a knife in the place of the shadow; SANKARA directly fell upon the knife, which pierced his throat and killed him instantly. Such is the legend or tale that prevails, and thus we account for the fact; the *Buddhamárgí* practice of Bhote is purer, and its scriptures more numerous, than ours.

QUESTION XIII.

What is the name of your sacred writings, and who is their author?

ANSWER.

We have nine *Puránas*, called "the nine *Dharmas*." (See note 26.) A *Purána* is a narrative or historical work, containing a description of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism, and the lives of our chief *Tathágatas*. The first *Dharma* is called *Prajna Pramita*, and contains 8,000 slokas. This is a *Nyáya Sástra*, or work of a scientific character, capable of being understood only by men of science; the second is named *Ganda Vyúha*, of 12,000 slokas, which contains the history of SÚDHANA KÚMÁRA, who made sixty-four persons his *gurus*, from whom he acquired *Bóddhijnána*; the third, is the *Samádhi Rája*, of 3,000 slokas, in which the nature and value of *japa* and *tapas* are explained; the fourth is the *Sancávatár*, of 3,000 slokas, in which is written how RÁVANA, lord of Lancá, having gone to Malayagiri mountain, and there heard the history of the *Buddhas* from SÁKYA SINHA, obtained *Bóddhijnána*. The fifth, which is called *Tathágata Guhya*, is not to be found in Nípál; the sixth, is the *Sat Dharma Pundariká*, which contains an account of the method of building a *chaitya* or *Buddha-mandal*, and the mode and fruits of worshipping it. (*Chaitya* * is the exclusive name of a temple dedicated to A'DI-BUDDHA or to the *Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas*, and whatever temple is erected to SÁKYA, or other *Mánushi Buddhas*, is called *vihár*;)† the seventh, is the *Lalita Vistára*, of 7,000 slokas, which contains the history of the several incarnations of SÁKYA SINHA BHAGAVÁN, and an account of his perfections in virtue and knowledge, with some notices of other *Buddhas*. The eighth, is the *Suvarna Prabhá*, containing, in 1,500 slokas, an account of SARASWATÍ, LAKSHMÍ and PRĪTHVÍ; how they lauded SÁKYA SINHA BHAGAVÁN; and how he, in return, gave each of them what she desired. The ninth, is the *Das'a Bhúmes'wara*, of 2,000 slokas, containing an account of the ten *Bhuvanas* of

* See Plate V.—N.B. Besides these *chaityas* and the *Vihárs*, the Nipalese have common temples, dedicated equally to the *Dii minores* and the *Bauddhas*, and to all the deities of the *Saivas*.—See Plate VI.

† See Plate VII.

BUDDHA. All these *Purānas* we received from SÁKYA SINHA, and esteem them our primitive scriptures, because before the time of SÁKYA our religion was not reduced to writing, but retained in memory; the disadvantages of which latter method being evident to SÁKYA, he secured our institutes by writing them. Besides these *Purānas*, we received *Tantras* and *Dhāranís* from SÁKYA SINHA. *Tantra* is the name of those books in which *Mantras* and *Yantras* are written, explanatory of both of which we have very many works. Three of them are famous: first, *Máyá Jál*, of 16,000 slokas; second, *Ráli Chakra*, of 6,000; third, *Sambhu Udaya*, of 1,000. The *Dhāranís* were extracted from the *Tantras*, and are similar in nature to the *Gúhya*, or mysterious rites, of the *Siva-Mārgis*. A *Dhāraní* is never less than eight slokas, or more than five hundred; in the beginning and middle of which are written the "*Vija Mantra*," and at the end, the "*Thúl Stotra*," or the *Mahátmya*, i. e. what desire may be accomplished or what business achieved by the perusal of that *Dhāraní*; such, for example, as obtaining children—advantage over an enemy—rain—or merely the approbation of BUDDHA. There are probably a thousand *Dhāranís*.

QUESTION XIV.

What is the cause of good and evil?

ANSWER.

When PADMA-PÁNI, having become *Tri-gun-A'tmaka*, that is, having assumed the form of SATYA-GUN, RAJA-GUN, and TAMA-GUN, created BRAHMÁ, VISHNU, and MAHÉS'A; then from SATYAGUN, arose spontaneously (*Swabhāvaka*), *punya* or virtue, and from TAMAGUN, *pápa* or evil, and from RAJA-GUN, the mean of the two, which is neither all good nor all evil: for these three *gunas* are of such a quality that good acts, mixed acts, and bad acts, necessarily flow from them. Each of these *karmas* or classes of actions is divided into ten species, so that *pápa* is of ten kinds; first (see note 27) murder; second, robbery; third, adultery, which are called *kāyaka* or bodily, i. e. derived from *Kāya*; fourth, lying; fifth, secret slander; sixth, reviling; seventh, reporting such words between two persons as excite them to quarrels, and these four *pápas* are called *Vāchaka*, i. e. derived from speech; eighth, coveting another's goods; ninth, malice, and tenth, disbelief of the scriptures and immorality; and these three are called *mānasi*, i. e. derived from *manas* (the mind). The ten actions opposite

to these are good actions : and the ten actions, composed, half and half, of these two sorts, are mixed actions.

QUESTION XV.

What is the motive of your good acts—the love of God—the fear of God—or the desire of prospering in the world ?

ANSWER.

The primary motive for doing well, and worshipping BUDDHA, according to the scriptures, is the hope of obtaining *Mukti* and *Moksha*, becoming *Nirvána*, and being freed from transmigrations : these exalted blessings cannot be had without the love of God ; therefore they, who make themselves accepted by God, are the true saints, and are rarely found ; and between them and BUDDHA there is no difference, because they will eventually become *Buddhas*, and will obtain *Nirvána Pada*, i. e. *mukti* (absorption), and their *jyóti* will be absorbed into the *jyóti* of BUDDHA ; and to this degree SÁKYA and the others of the “ *Sapta-Buddhas* ” (see note 28) have arrived, and we call them *Buddhas*, because, whoever has reached this state is, in our creed, a *Buddha*. Those persons who do good from the fear of hell, and avoid evil from the desire of prospering in the world, are likewise rarely found, and their degree is much above that of the class of sinners. Their sufferings in *Naraka* will be therefore lessened ; but they will be constrained to suffer several transmigrations, and endure pain and pleasure in this world, till they obtain *Mukti* and *Moksha*.

QUESTION XVI.

Will you answer, in the world to come, to A'DI-BUDDHA for your acts in this world, or to whom will you answer ? and what rewards for good, and pains for evil, will you reap in the next world ?

ANSWER.

How can the wicked arrive at BUDDHA ? (see note 29.) Their wicked deeds will hurry them away to *Naraka* ; and the good, will, by virtue of their good acts, be transported to the *Bhuvanas* of BUDDHA, and will not be there interrogated at all ; and those who have sometimes done good and sometimes evil, are destined to a series of births and deaths on earth, and the account of their actions is kept by YAMA RÁJA.

QUESTION XVII.

Do you believe in the metempsychosis ?

ANSWER.

Yes. For it is written in the *Játaka Málā*, and also in the *Lalita Vistāra*, that SÁKYA, after having transmigrated through five hundred and one bodies, obtained *Nirvāna Pada* or *Mukti* in the last body; but so long as we cannot acquire *Mukti*, so long we must pass through births and deaths on earth. Some acquire *Móksha* after the first birth, some after the seventy-seventh, and some after innumerable births. It is nowhere written that *Móksha* is to be obtained after a prescribed number of births; but every man must atone for the sins of each birth by a proportionate number of future births, and when the sins of the body are entirely purified and absolved, he will obtain absorption into A'DI BUDDHA.

QUESTION XVIII.

What and from whence are the *Néwars*, from Hindustan or Bhote? (see note 30), and what is the word *Néwar*, the name of a country or a people?

ANSWER.

The natives of the valley of Nípāl are *Néwars*. In Sanscrit the country is called *Naipāla*, and the inhabitants *Naipālī*; and the words *néwār* and *néwdri* are vulgarisms arising from the mutation of p to v, and l to r. Thus too the word *Bandya*, the name of the *Buddhamārgī* sect (because its followers make *bandana*, i.e. salutation and reverence to the proficients in *Bódhijnāna*), is metamorphosed by ignorance into *Bánra*, a word which has no meaning.

QUESTION XIX.

Do the *Néwars* follow the doctrine of caste or not?

ANSWER.

As inhabitants of one country they are one—but in regard to caste, they are diverse.

QUESTION XX.

How many castes are there amongst the *Bánras*?

ANSWER.

Bánra, according to the true reading, is *Bandya*, as explained above. According to our *Purānas*, whoever has adopted the tenets of BUDDHA, and has cut off the lock from the crown of his head, of whatever tribe or nation he be, becomes thereby a *Bandya* (see note 31). The *Bhotiyas*, for example, are *Bandyas* because they follow the tenets of BUDDHA, and have

no lock on their heads. The *Bandyas* are divided into two classes; those who follow the *Váhya-charyā*, and those who adopt the *Abhyantara-charya*—words equivalent to the *Grihastha ásrām* and *Vairāgi ásrām* of the *Bráhmanas*. The first class is denominated *Bhikshu*; the second, *Vajra A'charya*. The *Bhikshu* cannot marry; but the *Vajra A'charya* is a family man. The latter is sometimes called, in the vernacular tongue of the *Néwars*, *Gúbbál*, which is not a Sanscrit word. Besides this distinction into monastic and secular orders, the *Bandyas* are again divided, according to the scriptures, into five classes: first, *Arhan*; second, *Bhikshu*; third, *Sráwaka*; fourth, *Chailaka*; fifth, *Vajra A'charya*. The *Arhan* is he who is perfect himself, and can give perfection to others; who eats what is offered to him, but never asks for any thing. The *Bhikshu*, is he who assumes a staff and beggar's dish (*khikshari* and *pinda pátra*), sustains himself by alms, and devotes his attention solely to the contemplation (*dhyána*) of A'DI-BUDDHA, without ever intermeddling with worldly affairs. The *Sráwaka* is he who devotes himself to hearing the *Buddha* scriptures read or reading them to others; these are his sole occupations, and he is sustained by the small presents of his audiences. The *Chailaka* is he who contents himself with such a portion of clothes (*chilaka*) as barely suffices to cover his nakedness, rejecting every thing more as superfluous. The *Bhikshu* and the *Chailaka* very nearly resemble each other, and both (and the *Arhan* also) are bound to practice celibacy. The *Vajra A'charya* is he who has a wife and children, and devotes himself to the active ministry of Buddhism. Such is the account of the five classes found in the scriptures; but there are no traces of them in Nípál. No one follows the rules of that class to which he nominally belongs. Among the *Bhotiyas* there are many *Bhikshus*, who never marry; and the *Bhotiya Lamas* are properly *Arhans*. But all the Nípalese *Buddhamárgís* are married men, who pursue the business of the world, and seldom think of the injunctions of their religion. The *Tantras* and *Dháránís*, which ought to be read for their own salvation, they read only for the increase of their stipend and from a greedy desire of money. This division into five classes is according to the scriptures; but there is a popular division according to *Vihárs*, and these *Vihárs* being very numerous, the separate congregations of the *Bandyas*, have been thus greatly multiplied. In Pátan alone there are fifteen *Vihárs*. A temple to A'DI-BUDDHA, or to the five *Dhyáni-Buddhas*, called a *Chaitya*, is utterly distinct from the *Vihár*, and of the form of a sheaf of *Dhánya*. But the temples of SÁKYA and

the other of the "*Sapta Buddha Mánushi*," as well as those of other chief saints and leaders of Buddhism, are called *Vihárs*. The names of the fifteen *Vihárs* of Pátan are as follows : *Tankal-Vihár*, *Tú-Vihár*, *Hak-Vihár*, *Bhú-Vihár*, *Haran-Varna-Mahá-Vihár*, *Rudra-Varna-Mahá-Vihár*, *Bhikshu-Vihár*, *Sákya-Vihár*, *Guhya-Vihár*, *Shí-Vihár*, *Dhom-Vihár*, *Un-Vihár*, &c. (see note 32.) In short, if any *Bandya* die, and his son erect a temple in his name, such structure may be called such an one's (after his name) *Vihár*. With this distinction, however, that a temple to an eminent saint is denominated *Mahá-Vihár*—one to an ordinary mortal, simply *Vihár*.

To conclude : with respect to the notes—that portion of this sketch, which is my own—no one can be more sensible than I am that the first half contains a sad jumble of cloudy metaphysics. How far the sin of this indistinctness is mine, and how far that of my original authorities, I cannot pretend to decide ; but am ready to take a large share of it to myself. In regard to *this*, the most speculative part of Buddhism, it is sufficient happiness for me to have discovered and placed within the reach of my countrymen the *materials* for more accurate investigation, by those who have leisure, patience, and a knowledge of languages for the undertaking ; and who, with competent talents, will be kind enough to afford the world the benefit of so irksome an exercise of them.

But I trust that the *latter* half of the notes, which embraces topics more practical and more within the range of the favorite pursuits of my leisure, will not be found wanting in distinctness ; and I can venture confidently to warrant the *accuracy* of the information contained in it.

NOTES.

(1) Here a sloca of the *Sambhu Purána* is quoted in the original paper ; and it was my first intention to have repeated it on the margin of the translation ; but, upon reflection, I believe it will be better to observe, that the *Sambhu Purána* is a work peculiar to Nípál. Many other *Buddha* scriptures, however, which are not local, and are of high authority, symbolize the forming and changing powers of nature by the letters of the alphabet ; and ascribe the pre-eminence among these letters to *a*, *u*, and *m*—making the mystic syllable *óm*, which is not less revered by *Bauddhas* than by *Bráhmanas*. *A*, the *Bauddhas* say, is the *Vija Mantra* of the

person BUDDHA; U, the *Vija Mantra* of the person DHARMA'; and M, that of the person SANGA—and these three persons form the Buddhist Triad.*

The *Bauddhās*, however, differ in their mode of *classing* the three persons. According to the *Aishwarikas*, the male, BUDDHA, the symbol of generative power, is the first member; the female, DHARMA', the type of productive power, is the second; and SANGA, their son, is the third, and represents *actual* creative power, or an *active* creator and ruler, deriving his origin from the union of the essences of BUDDHA and DHARMA'. SANGA, according to all the schools, though a member, is an inferior member of the triad.

(2) Another sloca is here quoted; but it will not justify the language of the text, in which there is some confusion of the opposite doctrines of the *Aishwarikas* and *Swabhāvikas*. In the triad of the latter, the female, DHARMA' (also called PRAJNA'), the type of productive power, is the first member; UPA'YA, or BUDDHA, the symbol of generative power, the second; and SANGA the third;† their son as before, and the active author of creation, or rather the type of that spontaneous creation, which results necessarily from the union of the two principles of nature before-mentioned.

BUDDHA and PRAJNA' united become *Upāya Prajna*; or *vice versa*, according to the school, and *never* as in the text. (For some further remarks upon these chief objects of *Bauddha* worship, see Notes 12 and 29.)

I take this early opportunity to remark that candid criticism will compare, and not contrast, the statements made in Notes 10, 12, 17, 20, and 29, especially with reference to the *Swabhāvika* doctrine. (See Note 16.)

(3) The deduction of the five *Dhyāni Buddhas*, and the five *Dhyāni Bódhi Satwas*, from A'DI-BUDDHA, according to the *Aishwarika Bauddhas*, will be stated farther on. It is a celestial or divine creation, and is here improperly mixed with the generative creations, theistic and atheistic, of various doctors.

(4) See Note 23.

(5) The sloca quoted is from the *Pújā Kānd*, which is a mere manual of worship, of recent origin, and probably local to Nipāl. It professes, however, to be a faithful compilation from the *Guna-Kārand Vyūha*, and *Kārand Vyūha*. The latter of these is a work of respectable authority, and contains the following partial justification of the language of the *Pújā Kānd*. (SA'KYA, speaking to his disciple SARVA'NI VARANA VISHKAMBHI, says) "In the very distant times of VIPASYA BUDDHA I was born as the son of SUGANDA MUKHA, a merchant: in that birth I heard from VIPASYA the following account of the qualities of A'RYA'VALÓKITESHWARI (PADMA PA'NI). The sun proceeded from one of his eyes: and from the other, the moon; from his forehead MAHA'DEVA; from between his shoulders, BRAHMA'; from his chest, VISHNU; from his teeth, SARASVATÍ; from his mouth, VA'YU; from his feet, PRITHVI; from his navel, VARUNA." So many deities issued from A'RYA'VALÓKITESHWARI's body. This passage is expanded in the *Guna-Karand Vyūha*, wherein it is added, that when A'RYA'VALÓKITESHWARI had created BRAHMA', VISHNU, and

* See Plate II, fig. a, b, c.

† See Plate II, d, e, f.

MAHE'SA, they stood before him, and he said to the first, "be thou the lord of *Satyaguna* and create;" and to the second, "be thou the lord of *Rajaguna* and preserve;" and to the third, "be thou the lord of *Tamaguna* and destroy." The *Guna-Kāranda Vyūha* is however a mere amplification of the *Kāranda Vyūha*, and of much less authority. In a passage of the *Saraka Dhāra*—which is not one of the sacred writings of Nipāl, but a work of high authority, written by SARVAJNA MITRAPADA, a *Bauddha* ascetic of Cashmeer—the Hindu deities are made to issue from the body of the supreme PRAJNA just as, according to the *Kāranda Vyūha*, they proceed from that of PADMA PA'NI.

(6) The authority for these ten mansions is the *Dasa Bhūmeshwara*, one of the nine great works spoken of in the answer to the thirteenth question; and which treats professedly of the subject. The thirteen mansions are, however, mentioned in sundry works of high authority; and the thirteen grades of the superior part of the *Chaitya* (or proper *Bauddha* temple) are typical of the thirteen celestial mansions alluded to in the text. The most essential part of the *Chaitya* is the solid hemisphere; but the vast majority of *Chaityas* in Nipāl have the hemisphere surmounted by a pyramid or cone, called *Chūrā Mani*, and invariably divided into thirteen grades.*

(7) All this, as well as what follows, is a mere transcript from the Brahmanical writings. There is, nevertheless, authority for it in the *Bauddha* scriptures. The *Bauddhas* seem to have adopted without hesitation the cosmography and chronology of the Brahmins, and also a large part of their pantheon. They freely confess to have done so at this day. The favourite Brahmanical deities accepted by the Buddhists are, of males: MAHA' KA'LA, INDRA, GANESA, HANUMA'N, and the triad. Of females: LAKSHMI' and SARASVATI'. The Hindu triad are considered by the Buddhists as the mere servants of the *Buddhas* and *Bódhisatwas*, and only entitled to such reverence as may seem fit to be paid to faithful servants of so high masters. Of the *origin* of these deities, according to the *Bauddha* books, I have already given one account, and referred to another. The notions of the three *gunas* and of the creation, &c. by the Brahmanic triad as the delegates of the *Bódhisatwas*, I look upon to be modern inventions. According to genuine Buddhism, the *Bódhisatwas* are, each in his turn, the active agents of the creation and government of the world.

(8) An important historical person, and the apparent introducer of Buddhism into Nipāl. (See note 30.)

(9) This is a most curious legend. I have not yet seen the *Tantra* whence it professes to be extracted, and suspect that the legend was stolen from our Bible, by some inhabitant of Nipāl, who had gathered a confused idea of the Mosaic history of the origin and fall of mankind from the Jesuit missionaries, formerly resident in this valley; or perhaps the legend in question was derived from some of those various corrupt versions of the biblical story which have been current among the Jews and Moslems of Asia for many centuries.

(10) This limited reply is the fault of my friend and not of his books. Matter is called *Prakriti* by the Buddhists, as well as by the Brahmins. The *Swabhāvika* school

* See Plate III.

of *Bauddha* philosophy (apparently the oldest school) seems to have considered matter as the sole entity, to have ascribed to it all the attributes of deity, and to have assigned to it two modalities; one termed *nirvritti*, and the other *pravritti* (See Note 12.) To speak more precisely, the above is rather the doctrine of the *Prájnika Swabhávikas* than of the simple *Swabhávikas*: for the former unitize the active and intelligent powers of nature, the latter do not unitize them; and prefer to all other symbols of those dispersed powers of nature the letters of the alphabet generally, and without much regard to the pre-eminence of a, u, and m. Indeed, it is probable that the mystic syllable Aum is altogether a comparatively recent importation into Buddhism. The Lotos is a very favourite type of creative power with all the *Bauddhas*; and accordingly representations of it occur in a thousand places, and in as many forms in the *Bauddha* sculptures and architecture; for which, see the drawings which accompany this sketch, *passim*.

(11) The sloca quoted is from a modern little manual of *Píjá*. I have not seen any adequate original authority; but the *Aishwarika* Buddhists, who maintained an eternal, infinite, intellectual A'DI-BUDDHA, in all probability made the human soul an emanation from him; and considered *Móksha* a remanation to him.

(12) The *Swabhávikas*, the name assumed by one of the four schools of *Bauddha* philosophy, and apparently the oldest, are divided into two sects; one called *Swabhávikas* simply, the other *Prájnika Swabhávikas*. The former maintain that an eternal revolution of entity and non-entity is the system of nature, or of matter, which *alone* exists. The *Prájnikas* deify matter as the sole substance, and give it two modes, the abstract and the concrete: in the former, they *unitize* the active and intelligent powers held to be inherent in matter, and make this unit deity. Such is the abstract or proper mode, which is unity, immutability, rest, bliss. The second is the *contingent* or concrete mode, or that of actual, visible, nature. To this mode belong action, multiplicity, change, pain. It begins by the energies of matter passing from their proper and eternal state of rest into their contingent and transitory state of action; and ends when those energies resume their proper modality. The proper mode is called *nirvritti*; the contingent mode *pravritti*. The powers of matter cannot be described in their proper state of abstraction and unity. In the latter state, all the order and beauty of nature are images of their quality: they are also symbolized by the *Yóni*, and personified as a female divinity called A'DI PRAJNA' and A'DI DHARMA'. Man's *summum bonum* is to pass from the transmigrations incident to the state of *pravritti* into the eternal rest or bliss of *nirvritti*. The Triadic doctrine of all the schools is referable solely to *pravritti*. In the state of *nirvritti*, with some of the *Aishwarikas*, BUDDHA represents intellectual essence and the then sole entity; with others of the *Aishwarikas* DHARMA', or material essence exists *binely* with BUDDHA in *nirvritti*, the two being in that state *one*. With the *Prajnikas* PRAJNA', in the state of *nirvritti*, is the *summum et solum numen*, *Diva Natura*—the sum of all the intellectual and physical forces of matter, considered as the sole entity, and held to exist in the state of *nirvritti* abstracted from palpable material substance, eternally, unchangeably, and essentially one. When this essential principle of matter passes into the state

of *pravritti*, BUDDHA, the type of active power, first proceeds from it and then associates with it, and from that association results the actual visible world. The principle is feigned to be a *female*, first the mother, and then the wife, of the *male* BUDDHA. (For a glimpse at the esoteric sense of these ænigmas, see note 29.)

(13) The work cited is of secondary authority; but the mode of reasoning exhibited in the text is to be found in *all* *Bauddha* works which treat of the *Swabhāvika* doctrine.

(14) This is the name of the Theistic school of the *Bauddha* philosophers. The *Sambhū Purāna* and *Guna Kāranda Vyūha* contain the least obscure enunciation of Theism—and these books belong to Nipāl. Other *Bauddha* scriptures, however, which are not local, contain abundant expressions capable of a Theistic interpretation. Even those *Bauddha* philosophers who have insisted that matter is the sole entity, have ever magnified the wisdom and power of nature: and doing so, they have reduced the difference of theism and atheism almost to a nominal one: so, at least, they frequently affirm.

The great defect of *all* the schools is the want of Providence and of dominion in their *causa causarum*, though the comparatively recent *Kārmikas* and *Yātnikas* appear to have attempted to remedy this defect. (See the following note.)

(15) Of two of the four schools of *Bauddha* philosophy, namely, the *Swabhāvika* and *Aishwarika*, I have already said a few words: the two remaining schools are denominated the *Kārmika* and *Yātnika*—from the words *Karma*, meaning moral action; and *Yatna*, signifying intellectual force, skilful effort. The proper topics of these two schools seem to me to be confined to the phenomena of *human* nature—its *free-will*, its sense of right and wrong, and its mental power. To the wisdom of SWABHAVA, or PRAJNA', or A'DI-BUDDHA, the *Bauddhas*, both *Swabhāvikas* and *Aishwārikas*, had assigned that eternal *necessary* connexion of virtue and felicity in which they alike believed. It remained for the *Kārmikas* and *Yātnikas* to discuss how each individual *free-willed* man might most surely hope to realize that connexion in regard to himself; whether by the just conduct of his understanding, or by the proper cultivation of his moral sense? And the *Yātnikas* seem to have decided in favour of the former mode; the *Kārmikas*, in favour of the latter. Having settled these points, it was easy for the *Yātnikas* and *Kārmikas* to exalt their systems by linking them to the throne of the *causa causarum*—to which they would be the more readily impelled, in order to remove from their faith the obloquy so justly attaching to the ancient *Prājñika*, and even to the *Aishwarika* school, because of the want of Providence and of Dominion in their first cause. That the *Kārmikas* and *Yātnikas* originally limited themselves to the phenomena of human nature, I think probable, from the circumstances that, out of some forty slokas which I have had collected to illustrate the doctrines of these schools, scarcely one goes beyond the point of whether man's felicity is secured by virtue or by intellect? And that, when these schools go further (as I have the evidence of *two* quotations from their books that they *sometimes* do), the trespassing on ground foreign to their systems seems obvious; thus in the *Dīvyā Avadān*, SA'KYA says, "from the union of UPA'YA and PRAJNA' arose man—the lord of the senses; and from man

proceeded good and evil;" and this union of UPÁYA and PRAJNA' is then declared to be a *Karma*. And in the same work, in regard to the *Yátnika* doctrine, it is said, "ISHWARA (i.e. A'DI-BUDDHA) produced YATNA from PRAJNA', and the cause of *pravritti* and *nirvritti* is YATNA; and all the difficulties that occur in the affairs of this world or of the next are rendered easy by YATNA." Impersonality and quiescence were the objections probably made to the first cause of the *Prájnika*s and *Aishwarika*s; and it was to remove these objections that the more recent *Kármika*s and *Yátnika*s feigned conscious moral agency (*Karma*), and conscious intellectual agency (*Yatna*) to have been with the *causa causarum* (whether material or immaterial) from the beginning. Of all the schools, the *Kármika*s and *Yátnika*s alone seem to have been duly sensible of man's free-will, and God's moral attributes. The *Kármika* confession of faith is, "*Purva janma Kritang Karma tad Daivyam iti Kathyaté*," which may be very well translated by our noble adage, "conduct is fate." Such sentiments of human nature naturally inclined them to the belief of immaterial existences, and accordingly they will be found to attach themselves in theology chiefly to the *Aishwarika* school.

(16) This is the divine creation alluded to in the third note. The eternal infinite and intellectual A'DI-BUDDHA possesses, as proper to his own essence, five sorts of wisdom. From these he, by five separate acts of *Dhyán*, created the five *Dhyáni Buddhas*, to whom he gave the virtue of that *jnán* whence each derived his origin. These five *Dhyáni Buddhas* again created, each of them, a *Dhyáni Bódhisatwa* by the joint efficacy of the *jnán* received from A'DI-BUDDHA, and of an act of his own *Dhyán*.

The five *Dhyáni Buddhas* are, like A'DI-BUDDHA, quiescent—and the active work of creation and rule is devolved on the *Bódhisatwas*. This creation by *Dhyán* is eminently characteristic of Buddhism—but whose *Dhyán* possesses creative power? that of an eternal A'DI-BUDDHA, say the *Aishwarikas* of the *Sámkhá Púrana*—that of any *Buddha*, even a *Mánushi* or mortal *Buddha*, say the *Swabhávikas*. The *Bauddhas* have no other notion of creation (than that by *Dhyán*), which is not generative.

(17) These terms are common to all the schools of *Bauddha* philosophy; with the *Aishwarikás*, *nirvritti* is the state in which mind exists independent of matter; *pravritti*, the state in which it exists while mixed with matter. With the simple *Swabhávikas* the former term seems to import non-entity; the latter, entity. With the *Prájnika Swabhávikas*, the former term signifies the state in which the active and intellectual power of matter exists abstractedly from visible nature; the latter, imports the manner or state in which the same power exists in connexion with visible nature. The *Móksha* of the first is absorption into A'DI-BUDDHA; of the second, absorption into SHÚNYA; of the third, identification with PRAJNA. In a word, *nirvritti* means abstraction, and *pravritti*, concretion—from *nirván* is formed *nirvritti*, but *pravritti* has no *praván*.

(18) If so, I am afraid few *Bauddhas* can be called wise. The doctrine of the text in this place is that of the *Aishwarikas*, set off to the best advantage: the doctrine incidentally objected is to that of the *Swabhávikas* and *Prájnika*s. Sir W. Jones assures us that the Hindus "consider creation (I should here prefer the word change) rather as an energy than as a work." This remark is yet more true in regard to the old

Bauddha philosophers: and the mooted point with them is, *what* energy creates? an energy *intrinsic* in some archetypal state of matter, or *extrinsic*? The old *Bauddha* philosophers seem to have insisted that there is no sufficient evidence of immaterial entity. But, what is truly remarkable, *some* of them, at least, have united with that dogma a belief in *moral and intellectual operations*; nor is there one tenet so diagnostic of Buddhism as that which insists *that man is capable of extending his moral and intellectual faculties to infinity*. True it is, as Mr. Colebrooke has remarked, that the Hindu philosophy recognizes this dogma—coldly recognizes it, and that is all: whereas, the *Bauddhas* have pursued it into its most extravagant consequences, and made it the corner-stone of their faith and practice. (See note 29.)

(19) I have not yet found that these *Dhyáni Bauddhas* of the Theistic school *do* any thing. They seem to be mere personifications, according to a Theistic theory, of the active and intellectual powers of nature—and hence are called *Panch Bhúta*, *Panch Indriya*, and *Panch Áyatan Ákár*.

It may seem contrary to this notion of the quiescence of the five *Dhyáni Bauddhas*, that, according at least to some Nípál works, each of them has a *Sakti*. VAIROCHANA'S is *Vajra-Dhateshwari*; AKSHÓBHYA'S, *Lóchaná*; RATNA SAMBHAVÁ'S, *Mámukhí*; AMITABHÁ'S, *Pándarú*; AMÓGHÁ SIDDHÁ'S, *Túrú*.* But I apprehend that these *Buddha-sakties* are peculiar to Nípál; and though I have found their names, I have *not* found that they *do* any thing.

There *is* indeed a secret and filthy system of *Buddhas* and *Buddha-Sakties*, in which the ladies act a conspicuous part; and according to which, A'DI-BUDDHA is styled *Yógumbara*; and ADI-DHARMA, *Jnán-Eshwari*. But this system has only been recently revealed to me, and I cannot say more of it at present.

(20) According to the *Aishwarikas*: the *Swabhávikas* say, into *Akúsh* and *Shúnyatá*; the *Prájnikas*, into A'DI PRAJNA. The *Swabháviká* doctrine of *Shúnyatá* is the darkest corner of their metaphysical labyrinth. It cannot mean strictly nothingness, since there are seven degrees of *Shúnyatá*, whereof the first is *Akúsh*: and *Akúsh* is so far from being deemed nothingness that it is again and again said to be the only real substance. Language sinks under the expression of the *Bauddha* abstractions; and by their *Shúnyatá* I understand sometimes the *place*, and sometimes the *form*, in which the infinitely attenuated elements of all things exist in their state of separation from the palpable system of nature.

N.B. The images of all the seven great *Mánushi Bauddhas*, referred to in the answer to the 7th question, are exactly similar to that of SA'KYA SINHA,† the seventh of them. This image very nearly resembles that of AKSHÓBHYA, the second *Dhyáni Buddha*. The differences are found only in the supporters, and in the cognizances (*chínas*.) When coloured there is a more remarkable diagnosis, AKSHÓBHYA being blue, and SA'KYA and the other six *Mánushis* yellow.

(21) The *Sambhú Púrána* says, *manifested* in Nípál in the form of flame (*Jyóti rúpa*).

* See Plate IV, fig. a, b, c, d, e.

† See Plate IV. fig. f.

According to the same work, A'DI DHARMA'S (or PRAJNA'S) manifestation in Nípál is in the form of water (*jal surúpa*.)

(22) This is the true solution of a circumstance which has caused much idle speculation: though the notion is, no doubt, an odd one for a sect which insists on tonsure!

(23) These are PADMA PA'NI'S names in his character of active creator and governor of the *present* world. Three *Dhyáni Bódhisatwas* preceded him in that character, and one (the fifth) remains to follow him.*

(24) I have already stated that these deities, conformably with the quiescent genius of Buddhism, *do nothing*; they are merely the medium through which creative power is communicated to the *Bódhisatwas* from ADI-BUDDHA. It is the *Bódhisatwas* alone who *exercise* that power, one at a time, and each in his turn. It is a ludicrous instance of *Bauddha* contempt for action, that some recent writers have made a fourth delegation of active power to the three gods of the Hindu Triad.

(25) Until he attained *bóddhi jñána*; and even then, while yet lingering in the flesh, he got the name of SA'KYA SINHA. This name has caused some speculation, on the asserted ground of its not being Indian. The *Bauddha* scriptures differ as to the city in which SA'KYA was born; but all the places named are Indian. They also say that the *Shakvansa* was an Indian race or family; as was the *Gótumavansa*, in which also SA'KYA was once born.

(25 *bis*) This must be received with some allowance. The *Lalitá Vistára* gives ample details of SA'KYA'S numberless births and acts, but is nearly silent as to the origin or actions of his six great predecessors: and the like is true of many other *Bauddha* scriptures.

(26) These works are regularly worshipped in Nípál as the "*Nava Dharma*." They are chiefly of a *narrative* kind. The most important work of the *speculative* kind now extant in Nípál is the *Raksha Bhagavati*, consisting of no less than 125,000 slokas. This is a work of philosophy rather than of religion, and its spirit is sceptical to the very verge of pyrrhonism. The *Bauddhas* of Nípál hold it in the highest esteem, and I have sent three copies of it to Calcutta. Its *arrangement*, at least, and *reduction to writing*, are attributed (as are those of all the other *Buddha* scriptures) to SA'KYA SINHA. Whatever the *Buddhas* have said (*sugutai desita*) is an object of worship with the *Bauddhas*. SA'KYA having collected these words of the *Buddhas*, and secured them in a written form, they are now worshipped under the names *Sútra* and *Dharma*. The aggregation of nine *Dharmas* is for ritual purposes; but why the nine specified works have been selected to be thus peculiarly honoured I cannot say. They are probably the oldest and most authentic scriptures existing in Nípál, though this conjecture is certainly opposed to the reverence expressed for the *Raksha Bhagavati*, by the Buddhists. That work (as already stated) is of vast extent, containing no less than 125,000 slokas, divided into five equal parts or *khands*, which are known by the names of the five *Pármítás* and the five *Rakshas*.

* For a representation of PADMA PA'NI, as LO'KA NA'THA, see Plate IV. fig. g.

(27) The three first sins should be rendered, all destruction of life, all taking without right, and all sexual commerce whatever. The ten are the cardinal sins of *Buddhism*, and will bear a very favourable comparison with the five cardinal sins of *Brahmanism*.

(28) The *Buddhas* mentioned in the *Bauddha* scriptures are innumerable. Many of them, however, are evident non-entities in regard to history. Even the *Buddhas* of mortal mould are vastly numerous, and of various degrees of power and rank. These degrees are three, entitled, *Pratyéka*, *Srúvaka*, and *Mahá Yánika*. SA'KYA SINHA is often said to be the *seventh* and *last Mánushi Buddha* who has yet reached the supreme grade of the *Mahá Yánika*. In the *Lalita Vistára*, there is a formal enumeration of the perfections in knowledge and virtue requisite for attaining to each of these three grades—a monstrously impracticable and impious array of human perfectibility! The three grades are known by the collective name of "*Tri Jána*," or "*Tri Yána*."

(29) Genuine *Buddhism* never seems to contemplate any measures of acceptance with the deity: but, overleaping the barrier between finite and infinite mind, urges its followers to aspire by their own efforts to that divine perfectibility of which it teaches that man is capable, and by attaining which man becomes God—and thus is explained both the quiescence of the imaginary *celestial*, and the plenary omnipotence of the real *Mánushi Buddhas*—thus too we must account for the fact, that genuine *Buddhism* has no priesthood: the saint despises the priest; the saint scorns the aid of mediators, whether on earth or in heaven: "conquer (exclaims the adept or *Buddha* to the novice or *Bódhi-Satwa*)—conquer the importunities of the body, urge your mind to the meditation of abstraction, and you shall, in time, discover the great secret (*Prajna*) of nature; know this, and you become, on the instant, whatever priests have feigned of Godhead—you become identified with PRAJNA', the sum of all the power and all the wisdom which sustain and govern the world, and which, as they are manifested *out* of matter, must belong solely *to* matter; not indeed in the gross and palpable state of *pravritti*, but in the archetypal and pure state of *nirvritti*. Put off therefore the vile, *pravrittika* necessities of the body, and the no less vile affections of the mind; urge your thoughts into pure abstraction (*Dhyán*), and then, as assuredly you *can*, so assuredly you *shall*, attain to the wisdom of a *Buddha* (*Bódhijnán*), and become associated with the eternal unity and rest of *nirvritti*." Such, I believe, is the esoteric doctrine of the *Prájnikas*—that of the *Swabhávikas* is nearly allied to it, but more timid and sceptical; they too magnify the wisdom and power of nature so abundantly diffused throughout *pravritti*, but they seem not to unitize that wisdom and power in the state of *nirvritti*, and incline to conceive of *nirvritti* as of a state of things concerning which nothing can be predicated; but which, even though it be nothingness (*Shúnyatá*), is at least a blissful *rest* to man, otherwise doomed to an eternity of transmigrations through all forms of visible nature: and while the *Swabhávikas* thus underrated the *nirvritti* of the *Prájnikas*, it is probable that they compensated themselves by magnifying, more than the *Prájnikas* did, that *pravrittika* omnipotence of which the wise man (*Buddha*) is capable, *even upon earth*. It has been already stated that the second

person of the *Prājñika Triad* is denominated BUDDHA and U'PA'YA; of which terms the esoteric sense is this: Every man possesses in his understanding, when properly cultivated according to the rules of *Buddhism*, the means or expedient (*Upāya*) of discovering the supreme wisdom of nature (*Prajña*), and of realizing, by this discovery in his own person, a plenary omnipotence or divinity! which begins even while he yet lingers in the flesh (in *pravritti*); but which is not fully accomplished till he passes, by the body's decay, into the eternal state of *nirvritti*.

And as the wisdom of man is, in its origin, but an effluence of the Supreme wisdom (*Prajña*) of nature, so is it perfected by a reflux to its source, but without loss of individuality: whence PRAJNA' is feigned in the exoteric system to be both the mother and the wife of all the *Buddhas*, "*janani sarva Buddha*," and "*Jin-sāndari*;" for the efflux is typified by a birth, and the reflux by a marriage.

The *Buddha* is the adept in the wisdom of *Buddhism* (*bódhijnán*) whose first duty, so long as he remains on earth, is to communicate his wisdom to those who are willing to receive it. These willing learners are the "*Bódhisatwas*," so called from their hearts being inclined to the wisdom of *Buddhism*, and "*Sangas*," from their companionship with one-another, and with their *Buddha* or teacher, in the *Vihárs* or cœnobitical establishments.

And such is the esoteric interpretation of the third (and inferior) member of the *Prājñika Triad*. The *Bódhisatwa* or *Sanga* continues to be such until he has surmounted the *very last* grade of that vast and laborious ascent by which he is instructed that he can "scale the heavens," and pluck immortal wisdom from its resplendent source: which achievement performed, he becomes a *Buddha*, that is, an Omniscient Being, and a *Tatháguta*—a title implying the accomplishment of that gradual increase in wisdom by which man becomes a *Buddha*. These doctrines are very obscurely indicated in the *Bauddha* scriptures, whose words have another more *obvious* and very different sense; nor, but for the ambition of the *commentators* to exhibit their learning, would it be easy to gather the esoteric sense of the words of most of the original scriptures. I never was more surprised than when my old friend recently (after a six years' acquaintance) brought to me, and explained, a valuable comment upon a passage in the *Prajña Pármīta*. Let me add in this place, that I desire all searchers after the doctrine of *Bódhijnán* to look into the *Bauddha* scriptures, and judge for themselves; and to remember, meanwhile, that I am not a *Sanscrit* scholar, and am indebted for all I have gathered from the books of the Buddhists to the mediation of my old *Baudda* friend, and of my *Pundit*.

(30) Their physiognomy, their language, their architecture, civil and religious, their notions in regard to women, and several less important traits in their manners and customs, seem to decide that the origin of the *greater part* of the Népáls must be assigned to the north: and in the *Sambhú Purána*, a *Bauddha* teacher named MANJ-GHÓK, and MANJ NATH and MANJU'SRI, is stated to have led a colony into Népál from China; to have cleared Népál of the waters which then covered it; to have made the country habitable; to have built a temple to 'JYOTI-RU'T-A'DI-BUDDHA; and established

DHARMA'KAR (whom he brought with him) as first Raja of Nípál. But I nevertheless suppose (upon the authority of tradition) that Nípál received *some* colonists from India; and that *some* of the earliest propagators of Buddhism in Nípál came to the valley direct from India. Be that as it may, the Indian origin of Nipalese Buddhism (whether it reached the valley direct, or *via* Bhote or China) seems to be unquestionable from the fact that all the great *Sangata* scriptures of Nípál are written in the *Sanscrit language*. From the gradual decay of literature and of a knowledge of Sanscrit among the Népáris has resulted the practice, now very common, of translating *ritual* works into the vernacular tongue; and also the usage of adding to the original Sanscrit of *such* works comments in the vulgar language. The great scriptures however have never been subjected to the former process; seldom to the latter; for owing to Sanscrit having always been considered by the Buddhists of Nípál the language of literature, they have neglected to cultivate their vernacular tongue; nor does there exist to this day a dictionary or grammar of the Népári language.

(81) Of course therefore the *Bauddhas* of Nípál have not *properly* any diversity of caste; that is, any indelible distinction of ranks derived from birth, and necessarily carried to the grave. *Genuine* Buddhism proclaims the equality of all followers of BUDDHA—seems to deny to them the privilege of pursuing worldly avocations, and abhors the distinction of clergy and laity. All proper *Bauddhas* are *Bandyas*; and all *Bandyas* are equal as brethren in the faith. They are properly all ascetics—some solitary, mostly cœnobitical. Their convents are called *Viháras*. The rule of these *Viháras* is a rule of freedom; and the door of every *Vihár* is always open, both to the entrance of new comers, and to the departure of such of their old inmates as are tired of their vows. Each *Vihár* has a titular superior, whose authority over his brethren depends only on their voluntary deference to his superior learning or piety. Women are held equally worthy of admission with men, and each sex has its *Viháras*.

The old *Bauddha* scriptures enumerate four sorts of *Bandyas*, named *Arhan*, *Bhikshu*, *Srávaka* and *Chailaka*, who are correctly described in the text; and from that description it will be seen that there is no essential distinction between them, the *Arhan* being only segregated from the rest by his superior proficiency in *Bódhijnán*. Of these the proper institutes of *Buddhism*, there remains hardly a trace in Nípál. The very names of the *Arhan* and *Chailaka* have passed away—the names, and the names only, of the other two exist; and out of the gradual, and now total, disuse of monastic institutes, an exclusive minister of the altar, denominated *Vajra A'charya*, has derived his name, office, and existence in Nípál, not only without sanction from the *Bauddha* scriptures, but in direct opposition to their spirit and tendency. Nípál is still covered with *Viháras*; but these ample and comfortable abodes have long resounded with the hum of industry and the pleasant voices of women and children. The *superior* ministry of religion is now solely in the hands of the *Bandyas*, entitled, *Vajra-A'charya* in Sanscrit; *Gúbbál* in Népári: the *inferior* ministry, such *Bhikshus* as still follow religion as a lucrative and learned profession, are competent to discharge. And these professions of the *Vajra A'charya*, and of the *Bhikshu*, have become by usage hereditary, as have all other

avocations and pursuits, whether civil or religious, in Nípál. And as in the modern corrupt *Buddhism* of Nípál there are exclusive ministers of religion or *priests*, so are there many *Bauddhas* who retain the lock on the crown of the head, and are not *Bándyas*. These improper *Bauddhas* are called *Udás*: they never dwell in the *Viháras*, look up to the *Bandyas* with a reverential respect derived from the misapplication of certain ancient tenets, and follow those trades and avocations which are comparatively disreputable (among which is *foreign* commerce); while the *Bandyas*, who have abandoned the profession of religion, practise those crafts which are most esteemed. Agriculture is equally open to both; but is, in fact, chiefly followed by the *Udás*, who have thus become, in course of time, more numerous than the *Bandyas*, notwithstanding the early abandonment by the *Bandyas* of those ascetical practices which their faith enjoins, the resort of the greater part of them to the active business of the world, and their usurpation of all the liberal, and three-fourths of the mechanical arts of their country; for the *Bandyas* have the exclusive inheritance of thirty-six professions and trades; the *Udás*, that of seven trades only. The *Vajra Acharya* and *Bhikshu* are the religious guides and priests of both *Bandyas* and *Udás*. All *Bandyas*, whatever be the profession or trade they hereditarily exercise, are still equal; they intermarry, and communicate in all the social offices of life—and the like is true of all *Udás*—but between the one class and the other, growing superstition has erected an insuperable barrier. To the above remarks it may be well to add, that *Buddhists*, of some one or other of the above denominations, comprize the vast majority of the Newár race, and that the majority are *Saivas*; but in a sense peculiar to themselves, and with which my subject does not entitle me here to meddle.

(33) The names are almost all barbarous; that is, not derived from Sanscrit, but from Newari. I have not thought it worth while to enumerate any more of these examples. The *Vihár* is built round a large quadrangle, or open square, two stories high; the architecture is Chinese. *Chaitya* properly means a *temple of* BUDDHA, and *Vihár* an abode of cænobitical *followers of* BUDDHA. In the open square in the midst of every *Vihár*, is placed a *Chaitya*—but those words always bear the senses here attached to them; and *Vihár* can never be construed temple—it is a convent, or monastery, or religious house, but never *templum DEI vel BUDDHÆ*. At the base of the hemisphere of every Nípál *Chaitya* are placed the images of the DHYĀ'NI BUDDHAS. The *Chaitya* has often been *blended* with sundry structures, more or less appropriate to *Buddhism*. See Plates III. and VII.

XIV. *An Account of the Sculptures and Inscriptions at Mahdmalaipur ; illustrated by Plates. By BENJAMIN GUY BABINGTON, M.B., F.R.S., Sec.R.A.S.*

Read July 12, 1828.

THE remains of ancient sculpture, called by Europeans the Seven Pagodas, on the Coromandel Coast, thirty-five miles south of Madras, have long attracted the attention of those who feel an interest in Hindu Archæology ; and, so long ago as the year 1788, formed the subject of a paper in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. The author, Mr. William Chambers, wrote from memory, after an interval of twelve years from the period at which he had visited the scene which he described. His account, unaccompanied as it was by drawings or *fac similes* of the inscriptions, could therefore scarcely be expected to be sufficiently minute to answer any further purpose than that avowed by himself, of exciting public attention, and “ giving rise to more accurate observations, and more complete discoveries on the same subject.” In the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, published in 1798, there is a more descriptive account of these temples and excavations, written by Mr. Goldingham, a gentleman of well-known talent, on whose observations, as they were recorded on the spot, we may with confidence rely. Mrs. Graham is indeed a later writer on the subject : but her remarks are desultory, and her information imperfect, as might be expected from the opportunities presenting themselves to a casual and hasty visitor. In Bishop Heber’s narrative three pages are devoted to a notice of Maha-Bali-poor. (Pages 216–218, vol. iii.) But the author merely follows the legends of the place, and evidently aims at nothing more than a record in his journal of his impressions on a cursory visit. The testimony, however, which this lamented prelate bears to the degree of skill displayed in these sculptures must, from his acknowledged taste, be looked upon as peculiarly valuable ; and it is gratifying to one who has taken much interest in them to find, that he

considered "some of the porticoes, temples and bas-reliefs as very beautifully executed," and pronounced "the general merit of the work as superior to that of Elephanta."

With these notices already before the public, it would be superfluous to occupy the attention of the Society with another detailed description of these monuments, and I shall therefore content myself with a reference to Mr. Goldingham's paper, as far as may be necessary to accomplish the objects which I have at present in view. These are, first, to convey a just notion of the merits of the principal sculptures, by means of drawings made on the spot by Mr. Andrew Hudleston and myself, several years since; and, secondly, to throw some light upon the inscriptions found among these temples.

To the legendary accounts of the Brahmans at Mahámalaipur, which are given at such length by Mr. Chambers and Mrs. Graham, I attach little value, because I find that they have not even preserved the memory of the language and character of the inscriptions which here abound; and because this place, in being accounted the work of the five sons of PÁNDU, only shares a tradition common to all the antiquities of unexplained origin in the south of India. So far from believing in the tales of these Brahmans, who are obviously interested in connecting wonderful stories with the remains which they gain a livelihood by shewing to strangers, I even doubt whether Mahámalaipur was ever, as asserted by them, the site of a great city, now partly covered by the sea; and still more, whether the gilded summit of one of the five pagodas, said to be so covered, was visible two generations ago. Several circumstances lead me to be sceptical on these points: first, the absence of all remains of buildings,* walls, mounds of rubbish, or broken pottery, such as I have invariably found surrounding the site of other ancient cities; secondly, the fruitless attempts made by the late Mr. Ellis and Col. Mackenzie to ascertain the existence of sunken buildings by careful soundings made off the shore; thirdly, the silence of tradition on other parts of the Coromandel coast regarding so vast an encroachment of the sea, and consequent loss of land, as must necessarily have taken place to effect the submersion of lofty pagodas still remaining erect, and that too since the formation of the present system of Hindu mythology, to which the existing sculptures obviously relate; fourthly, the

* The small ruined brick edifice on the top of the rock can hardly be considered an exception.

circumstance that the authenticity of the legend must mainly depend on the name of the place as connected with the history of Mahábali; whereas it will be shewn, when considering the inscriptions, that Mahábalipur is not its ancient designation; lastly, the omission of all mention of Mahábali in the inscriptions, and of any reference to him in the sculptures.

Although I thus reject the account of the Brahmans on the spot, I have nothing certain to offer in its room. If a conjecture however may be hazarded regarding the origin of this place, I should be inclined to believe that its sequestered situation and the picturesque position of the rocks and caves induced certain Brahmans to obtain royal grants for founding an *Agraharam* here, and that, in order to increase the sanctity of their temples, they from time to time employed stone-masons (several families of whom reside at Mahámalaipur, and appear to have worked the quarries of granite time immemorial) to ornament the rocks with the excavations and sculptures which we now find.

Plate 1, represents the sculptured rock, which has been described by Mr. Goldingham in his second paragraph, as occupying a surface about ninety feet in extent and thirty in height, and covered with figures in bas-relief. This subject has been represented in Mrs. Graham's Journal by an etching copied from an outline belonging to Col. Mackenzie, the inaccuracy of which will be sufficiently apparent on comparing it with my drawing, which was executed with much care and labour by my companion.

During our visit to the Seven Pagodas, we caused the earth to be removed from the lower part of this rock to its base, and thus exposed to full view some figures (see *Pl. 2, No. 1*), of which the heads alone were before visible.

Not far from the rock last mentioned is the spacious chamber called the *Crishn'a Man'd'apam*, described by Mr. Goldingham in his third paragraph. Of the scene sculptured on the rock facing the entrance, Mr. Hudleston and myself made a joint drawing (see *Pl. 2, No. 2*); and as this rock is going fast to decay, owing to a spring of water from above, which keeps its surface constantly wet, it is not improbable that in the course of a few years it will be entirely decomposed; it is the more desirable therefore that some record of its subject should be preserved. Several interesting particulars regarding the ancient Hindus may be gathered from this pastoral scene. The dress of the females resembles that now worn by the *Nayris* and *Tirtis* of Malabar, who are uncovered above the waist. The men, it appears, wore turbans, and the women very large ear-rings, with bangles on

their hands and feet. The peculiar practice of carrying the infant on the hip, which cannot fail to attract the notice of Europeans at the present day, was then in use; and even the vertical arrangement and method of tying together the three earthen vessels here represented, is recognized by all Hindu visitors as being universally adopted by the modern *Gopālas*. The execution of this work is coarse, and the design rude; and though particular parts have much merit, yet the limbs of the principal figures are clumsy and ill-proportioned, the attitudes forced, and the countenances without expression.

Greatly superior is the skill displayed by the artists employed in the excavation described by Mr. Goldingham in his fifth paragraph; but even here, under the same roof, there is much inequality in the execution of the different subjects. The central compartment (see *Pl. 3, No. 1*), and that on the left on entrance (see *Pl. 3, No. 2*) are tame performances, compared with the very spirited representation of DURGĀ seated on her lion, and attacking MAHĒSĀSUR, which occupies the right compartment. (See *Pl. 4*.) I have no hesitation in pronouncing this to be the most animated piece of Hindu sculpture which I have ever seen; and I would venture to recommend that a caste of it should, if possible, be taken for this Society. In the mean time, a tolerably just notion may be formed of its merits from the excellent and accurate delineation of Mr. Hudleston.

The smaller temple, which Mr. Goldingham mentions as placed at a considerable elevation above that just alluded to, and wrought out of a single mass of rock, is so rich in sculpture and ornament, and occupies so picturesque and sequestered a spot, that it is surprising he should have passed it over with so slight a notice. This excavation is in form a parallelogram, open on one of the longer sides, where it is supported on two columns. It contains four large compartments or panels of sculpture; namely, one at each end, and one on each side of the central recess opposite the entrance; besides two niches occupied by DWĀRAPĀLAS. The VARĀHA AVATĀRA represented in *Plate 5*, is placed at the left end of the chamber. *Plate 6*, the subject of which seems to be some incarnation of VISHNU, fills the compartment at the opposite end. On the right of the recess a female deity appears, surmounted by an umbrella (see *Pl. 7, No. 1*); whilst on the left is a female figure seated on a lotus throne, and attended by damsels who bear water-pots, to be discharged in turn over her head by the elephants seen in the back-ground (see *Pl. 8*.) The position of

the DWÁRAPÁLA will be seen in *Plate 8, No. 2*. Of the columns which support the front of the excavation, as well as of the side pilasters I have thought it worth while, on account of their beauty and singular order, to furnish drawings (*Pl. 7, Nos. 2 and 3*); while the general appearance of the cave-temple will be best understood by reference to *Plate 9*.

There are several other pieces of sculpture contained in small temples among the rocks, not noticed either by Mr. Chambers or Mr. Goldingham; and of these, *Plate 10, Nos. 1, 2, 3*, are examples.

- The DÓLÓTSAVA MAN'D'APAM, seen in the centre of the village, is remarkable for the lightness and elegance of its construction. It is of granite, and is supported on four columns, which rise from a platform elevated by three steps (see *Pl. 11, No. 1*). The shafts of the columns with the base are hewn from a single stone, and, including the capital, are twenty-seven feet in height.

The stone pagoda on the sea-shore, which serves as a land-mark for shipping, and is erroneously stated by Mr. Chambers to be built of brick, is delineated in *Plate 11, No. 2*; and the gigantic figure lying stretched on the floor in one of its recesses, in *Plate 12*. At the time when this drawing was made, the figure was enclosed in a small chamber; but on a subsequent visit I found that the walls had given way, thus leaving it exposed to the open air. As a record therefore of the state of this pagoda and figure, I regard these drawings as not without value in the collection now presented to the Society; for such is the dilapidated condition of this structure, that the period cannot be far distant when it will no longer exist. The effects of the salt-water spray add much to those of time in hastening its decay.

Whether this pagoda was dedicated to VISHNU or to SIVA, I regard as doubtful: tradition favours the former supposition. At all events, the pillar which stands before it amid the spray of the sea is certainly not a *lingam*, as some suppose, but merely the *stambha* or post, which is found, I believe, fronting all Hindu temples of consideration. That this pillar is now near the high-water mark is by no means a convincing proof that the sea has encroached here, for I see no reason why such a spot should not have been originally selected for its erection. If it be a fact, as mentioned by Bishop Heber, that the sea is receding from most other parts of the Coromandel coast, it is difficult to conceive why it should advance in this place; such a local encroachment could only be effected by a change in the

position of the land, and as the primitive rocks here appear on the surface, this cannot be admitted as a probable occurrence, unless under some violent convulsion of nature. Had the coast been of an alluvial formation at this spot, high tides might have advanced upon it with greater facility.

The five monolithic temples, situated about a mile to the southward of the village, have justly attracted the attention of all who have visited Mahámalaipur. They are called on the spot रथाः *Rat'hás*, or sacred vehicles: but it is obvious, that they were never meant as imitations of those enormous wooden structures, which are so conspicuous in certain Hindu processions. They were probably intended to serve the purpose of temples; but bear evident marks of having been left in an unfinished state; for though highly ornamented on the outside, they have not been excavated within, being merely solid masses of sculptured granite remaining in their original positions. For the general view of these *Rat'has*, I would refer to Mrs. Graham's plate, which, together with Mr. Goldingham's description, will serve to convey a notion of these curious remains of antiquity. Several of the *basso relievo* figures with which they are ornamented are represented in *Plate 15*, and will be further noticed when I come to speak of the inscriptions which are placed over them.

OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Exclusively of a scrap of modern Telugu, very incorrectly designed and rudely sculptured on the floor of the *Crishn'a Man'd'apam*, and in consequence erroneously copied as ancient by Mr. Goldingham (see Asiatic Researches, vol. v. page 80), I noticed three kinds of inscriptions at Mahámalaipur, two of which have hitherto remained undecyphered. It is also highly probable that three other kinds, which I shall have occasion to mention, are to be met with in this neighbourhood.

First. An ancient Tamul inscription is seen on a face of rock by the side of the inner entrance to the *Vardha Swámi* pagoda, which is still in use. This would be legible throughout, were it not that a wall, which projects from the rock, cuts off a considerable portion of each line; on this account I did not consider it worth while to take a copy. From what remains visible, it is certain that the inscription records a grant to the *Varáha Swámi* pagoda of a quantity of land, the boundaries of which are

very minutely defined, both as respects the property of others, and the cardinal points. The act of donation is attested by numerous witnesses, and the name of the donor is also mentioned. A perfect copy of this inscription might easily be made, if the wall which I have noticed were removed; and as the date might possibly thus be ascertained, I would suggest that the Madras Literary Society be recommended to take measures for effecting this object. In order to facilitate the task of decyphering this and similar records, I have drawn out an alphabet (see *Pl. 13*) from a careful collation of several ancient Tamil inscriptions.*

As it seems probable, from a passage in another ancient inscription hereafter noticed, that Mahámalaipur was a *S'iva-St'hala*, I am inclined to consider the *Varáha Swámi* pagoda as quite distinct, and probably of a different era from the antiquities, properly so called, which belong to this place. The difference of language in the inscription, and the circumstance that the pagoda is a built structure projecting from the face of the rock,

* The changes which time has produced are in some letters very great; and where characters are so simple as those of the Tamil language, even slight alterations in form give rise to perplexity. I may adduce, as an example, the letter *ca*, the most ancient form of which was a Latin cross †. In the course of time a top was added to the left side, and the cross bar was curved thus †̣. The next alteration was in the addition of a perpendicular line falling from the left extremity of the top †̣̣. The top was then extended to the right †̣̣̣, and by prolonging the extremities of the curved line, the modern letter ௐ has at length been formed, or in a still more complicated manner as in the Grantha thus ௐ̣. In its modern form ௐ it might easily be confounded with the ௑ which, though it now has a tail, was anciently written without one, thus ௑̣. Other examples might be given, but they suggest themselves on an inspection of the alphabet itself.

I cannot touch on the subject of ancient Tamil characters without remarking, that their extreme simplicity seems one among many circumstances, which indicate that the language is of very high antiquity. The Sanscrit of the South of India is written in characters (the Grant'ha) derived from the Tamil, but they are much more complicated, and therefore probably posterior in point of antiquity. The peculiar structure of the Tamil language, wholly dissimilar from the Sanscrit, its deficiency in aspirated consonants, its possession of letters and sounds not found in Sanscrit, its division into dialects, one of which contains but few words of Sanscrit derivation; and lastly, its locality at the southern extremity of India, would seem likewise to indicate an independent origin, and one of at least equal antiquity with the Sanscrit itself; but this is a subject foreign to that now under consideration, and deserving a more lengthened discussion than the limits of a note will allow.

and not an excavation, increase the probability of this conclusion. It is not unlikely, however, that there may exist in the sanctuary a subordinate sculpture representing the *Varáha Avatára*, like that of CRISHN'A, and the *Gopálas* in the *Crishn'a Marid'apam*, and of equally ancient date, and that a roof and walls may have been thrown out from this rock, and a temple thus formed. The Brahmans on the spot did not permit me to enter the sanctuary to ascertain this point.

Throughout this Tamil inscription the place is called *Mahámalaipur*, which signifies the city of the great mountain, evidently with reference to the rocky eminence in the vicinity. This indeed cannot be called a great mountain on account of its size : but the word *Mahá* may refer to greatness of sanctity, or renown, with equal propriety.

To designate the village *Mahá-Bali-puram*, the native name at the present day, is therefore an error, which has led to the assumption that this was the capital of that renowned giant MAHÁ BALI, whose kingdom, if it ever actually existed, was on the western coast of India, where he is still honoured by an annual festival.

A second kind of character found at *Mahámalaipur* is in a small monolithic pagoda,* now dedicated to GÁNÉS'A,† and situated on the north side of the hill. It is contained in an inscription (see Pl. 14) of considerable length, but is so faintly cut, and on such rough granite, that the *fac-simile* which I have furnished, however imperfect, cost me several days' labour to trace.‡ One of the Jain Bráhmans, in the employ of Col. Mac-

* Mrs. Graham gives an engraving of this small pagoda, which she says is called the *Teer of Arjun*, and she explains the word *Teer* (properly *Tér*), to mean a place of religious retirement. The explanation is erroneous, as the word *Tér* signifies, in Tamil, a car or sacred vehicle, corresponding with the Sanscrit *Rat'ha*.

† When Mr. Goldingham wrote his account, this pagoda contained a *lingam* (see his first paragraph), so that it has passed from the *Sáivas* into the possession of the *Vaishnavas* since that period. Brahman families of both sects reside on the spot.

‡ In this character there are two forms of affix for long *a*, used indifferently as convenience may suggest. Thus, in the first stanza, we find the syllable (का) *cá* in the word *cáran'am* (कारणं) made thus कः; while in the eighth stanza the same syllable in the word *cáma* काम is made thus कः

The letters *p* (प), and *s* (स) seem similar in form ; but perhaps some slight difference may

kenzie, had such a knowledge of ancient characters somewhat similar to this, that on visiting the spot with me, he succeeded in decyphering a great part of this inscription, the language of which is Sanscrit. The following is a translation of the ten *stocds* which were intelligible, while about two verses at the end were left undecyphered.

1. May the cause of creation, existence and destruction, which is itself without cause, the destroyer of *Manmadan* (desire), be propitious to the desires of the world.
2. May he who is united with *UMA*, of many kinds of illusion, without quality, the destroyer of evil dispositions, of incorruptible wealth, the Lord of *CUBERAN*, be counted excellent.
3. May that deity (*S'IVA*) protect us all, who is the seat of prosperity, and by whose means *CAILÁSA* disappeared and descended to *Pátála*, yielding by its weight, which he caused on account of its being with (supported by) the ten-faced (*RÁVAN'AN.*)
4. May he who bears *S'IVA* in his mind engrossed by devotion, and the earth on his shoulders, with as much ease as if it were an ornament, long prevail.
5. By that king of satisfied wishes, with crowds of conquered enemies, who is known by the name of *JAYARANA STHAMBHA*, this building was made.
6. May that fear-inspiring, good-giving, desire-destroying *S'IVA*, to whom the earth, space, the moon, fire, the sun, &c. are a body, be victorious.
7. The good-faced among nations (the beauty of the world) sprung from a mother bringing forth heroes, remains without doubt in a place of lotuses, full of sacred waters, and is adorned with all sorts of precious stones.
- 8 and 9. *S'IVA*, the beautiful, sits in the broad lake *S'iras*, which teems with (literally is a mine of) lotuses resembling variegated gems, and is full of water for sprinkling the fortunate and much-loved *KÁMARÁJA*,

have escaped my observation. In modern Grantha, an inflection in the middle of the character makes the difference between *s* and *p*, thus $\text{ॐ} \text{ॐ}$. So also in the ancient character, the inflection may have been greater in the *s* than in the *p*, thus ॐ and ॐ ; but I have not upon this supposition felt authorized to depart from the copy which I made on the spot.

who puts down the pride of his enemies, who is the source (receptacle) of glory, and is earnest in worshipping S'IVA.

10. He (KÁMARÁJA) who dwells on the heads of kings, caused this temple of Srva, which resembles the temple on *Caildsá*, to be erected for the happiness of the earth.

I have lately received from Madras two ancient inscriptions purporting to be from the neighbourhood of *Mahámalaipur*, and two also have been kindly furnished me by Col. De Havilland. Of these four, two appear to be identical, which reduces the number to three. Their precise localities I have not the means of knowing, with the exception of one, entitled by Col. De Havilland, "Sanskrit inscription engraven on the north side of the verandah of a pagoda excavated out of the solid granite, two miles north of Mahábalipuram." All these inscriptions differ in character from each other, but agree precisely in matter; and it is remarkable that the *slocas* of which they are composed are, with the exception of the last, contained, though in different order, in the inscription copied by me from the wall of the *Gánés'a* pagoda and of which a translation has just been furnished. To state this more in detail, my inscription, which, it is to be observed, is in a character differing again from any of the rest, consists of ten *slocas* decyphered, besides as much as would probably make two *slocas* more remaining undecyphered. The other inscriptions consist of five *slocas* only, with some undecyphered portions, with which I have not thought it worth while to encumber the plate; the first four being in the metre called *anushhtubh*, the last in a variety of the metre called *vaitdhiya*.

The first three *slocas* in my inscription are not found in the others; my fourth *sloca* is the same as theirs. The fifth, sixth, and seventh *slocas* of my inscription are wanting in the others. My eighth and ninth *slocas* are their first and second, and my tenth is their third. Their fifth *sloca* I have ascertained, after a very careful comparison, to be quite different from the remaining undecyphered portion of my inscription. Its translation is as follows: "ATIRAN'ACHANDA (he who in battle is very furious), Lord of Kings, built this place called *Atiran'achandésvara*. May SIVA, the beloved, accompanied by the daughter (PÁRVATÍ) of the snowy mountain, by CÁRTICÉYA, and their suite of deities, be present in it for ever."

These inscriptions are peculiarly valuable, as giving us at once four different kinds of Sanscrit writing, whereof two (*Pl. 14* and *Pl. 15, No. 1.*)

are, in my opinion, ancient forms of the *Grantha*, or that character in which Sanscrit is invariably written in the South of India, and in which alone I was able to procure books for study at Madras. The other two will probably be considered as species of ancient *Dévanāgarī*. (See *Pl. 15, No. 2 and 3.*)

This variety of character, with identity of matter, leads me to think it probable that the inscription itself was a kind of general proclamation sculptured in different places, and modified, as in my inscription, to render it applicable to local circumstances. Whether it will throw light upon the history of *Mahāmalaipur*, containing as it does the name of the sovereign who founded the temples to which it has been affixed, is a question which I must leave to be examined by those who have studied the ancient dynasties of the South of India.

A third kind of character at *Mahāmalaipur*, or a sixth kind, if we reckon those received from Madras and from Col. De Havilland, is to be found in the inscriptions over the *basso-relievo* figures which ornament the monolithic pogodas already mentioned as situated to the southward of the village, and of which several are represented in *Plate 16*. Neither the *Jain* Brahman employed by Col. Mackenzie, nor any other native of India who had seen these inscriptions, was able to decypher them, or to offer any conjecture as to the language in which they were written; and even the learned Mr. Ellis, after repeated visits to this place, was equally unsuccessful in his endeavours. Mrs. Graham, indeed, states that Col. Mackenzie had found a Brahman who read the character so as to pronounce the sounds, but did not understand the language they express. Whether any person did actually thus impose on that gentleman, or whether Mrs. Graham has confounded these inscriptions with the last, I cannot determine, but it is quite certain that, if any person had been able to decypher the character, he would, without any difficulty, have discovered the language to be Sanscrit. It was by assuming this to be the case, that I succeeded in decyphering these inscriptions.*

I beg now to lay them before the Society, together with a transcript in *Dévanāgarī*, and a translation. (See *Plate 17.*)

* There is one instance, as will be seen on a reference to *Plate 17*, in which the characters are of the same kind as those in the inscription of the *Gāṇéś's* Pagoda, a proof that both were in use at the same period. It is probable therefore that one was the round, and the other the square form, analogous to the two varieties of *Pāli* and *Ariyam*.

It is to be regretted that these inscriptions, instead of containing general information respecting the origin or date of the sculptures, are merely epithets applicable to the figures over which they are placed. At the same time we should remember that their brevity and position, having led to the assumption that they were names of deities, thus rendered the task of decyphering them somewhat less difficult. Unimportant as they are in themselves, a knowledge of them may lead to the acquirement of useful or curious information to be drawn from other sources, and I trust that the Society will indulgently consider the utility of this research, not so much with reference to the information actually obtained, as to its general subserviency to the purposes of history.

There are certainly no historical monuments in India more decidedly authentic than the copper and stone inscriptions found in such abundance in many parts of the country, and it is advancing one step to have determined that these, however different the characters in which they are sculptured from those in use at the present day, are all in the Sanscrit language, in which so little change has taken place in the lapse of ages, that, when once we have succeeded in the task of decyphering, all difficulty is at an end, and the record of a remote antiquity is placed intelligibly before us.

These inscriptions, and those at Kenerah in the island of Salsette, one of which, with the modern Sanscrit, and a translation, I laid before the Society on a late occasion, are perhaps the most ancient, at least the most dissimilar from characters at present in use, which I have met with; and I think myself therefore warranted in concluding that there are no inscriptions of Hindu origin to be found in India which may not, by attentive study, be decyphered, and by the assistance of learned natives, afterwards interpreted.

With a view to rendering the characters of these decyphered inscriptions generally applicable, I have added two tables (*Pl.* 18): the one containing all the characters found in the inscription in the *Gánés'a* Pagoda; the other, those met with over the *basso-relievo* figures on the *Rat'has*.

XV. *On the Religious Establishments of Méwar.** By Lieut.-Colonel
JAMES TOD, M.R.A.S.

Read December 6, 1828.

IN all ages the ascendancy of the hierarchy is observable ; it is a tribute paid to religion through her organs. Could the lavish endowments and extensive immunities of the various religious establishments in Rajast'han be assumed as criteria of the morality of the inhabitants, we should be authorized to assign them a high station in the scale of excellence. But they more frequently prove the reverse of this position ; especially the territorial endowments, often the fruits of a death-bed repentance,† which, prompted by superstition or fear, compounds for past crimes by posthumous profusion, although vanity not rarely lends her powerful aid. There is scarcely a state in Rajpootana in which at least one-fifth of the soil is not assigned for the support of temples, their ministers, the secular Brahmans, bards, and genealogists. But the evil was not always so extensive ; the abuse is of modern growth.

An anecdote related of the Rajas of Marwar and Ambér, always rivals in war, love, and folly, will illustrate the motives of these dismemberments.

* It is unnecessary to say more of Méwar in this place, than that it is the most ancient and most respected of all the Rajpút principalities ; its prince is the chief of the whole Rajpút race, and the pre-eminence of his illustrious descent is universally admitted. From their migration out of the north of India and settlement in Saurashtra in the second century, we can trace the vicissitudes of their fortunes to the present time, and as their country was less infested by Mahomedan conquerors, it offers a better picture of Hinduism than any other portion of India.

† Menu commands, " Should the king be near his end through some incurable disease, he must bestow on the priests all his riches accumulated from legal fines : and having duly committed his kingdom to his son, let him seek death in battle, or, if there be no war, by abstaining from food."—Chap. ix., p. 337, *Haughton's Edition*. The annals of all the Rajpút States afford instances of obedience to this text of their divine legislator.

During the annual pilgrimage to the sacred lake of Poshkur, it is the custom for these lords of the earth to weigh their persons against all that is rare, in gold, gems, and precious cloths ; which are afterwards distributed to the priests under the misnomer of *khyrat* or charity. The Ambér chief had the advantage of a full treasury and a fertile soil ; to which his rival could oppose a more extended sway over a braver race, but his country was proverbially poor ; and at Poshkur, the weight of the purse ranks above the deeds of the sword. As these princes were suspended in the scale, the Ambér Raja, who was balanced against the more costly material, indirectly taunted his brother-in-law on the poverty of his offerings, who would gladly, like the Roman, have made up the deficiency with his sword. But the Marwar prince had a minister of tact, at whose suggestion he challenged his rival (of Ambér) to equal him in the magnitude of his gift to the Brahmans. On the gage being accepted, the *Rahtore* exclaimed, " Perpetual charity (*Sahsuna*) of all the lands held by the Brahmans in Marwar !" His unreflecting rival had commenced the redemption of his pledge, when his minister stopped the half-uttered vow, which would have impoverished the family for ever ; for there were ten Brahmans in Ambér who followed secular employments, cultivating or holding lands in usufruct, to one in Marwar. Had these lords of the earth been left to their misguided vanity, the fisc (*Khalisa*) of each state would have been seriously curtailed.

The Brahmans, *Sanyasis*, and *Gosáens*, are not behind those professional flatterers, the Bards ; and many a princely name would have been forgotten but for the record of the gift of land. In Méwar, the lands in *Sahsun*, or religious grants, amount in value to *one-fifth* of the revenue of the state, and the greater proportion of these has arisen out of the prodigal mismanagement of the last century. The dilapidated state of the country on the general pacification in A.D. 1818, afforded a noble opportunity to redeem in part these alienations, without the penalty of denunciation attached to the resumer of sacred charities. But death, famine, and exile, which had left but few of the grantees in a capacity to return and re-occupy the lands, in vain coalesced to restore the fisc of Méwar. The *Rana* dreaded a "*sixty thousand years' residence in hell*," and some of the finest land of his country is doomed to remain unproductive. In this predicament is the township of Mynár, with 50,000 *bighas* (16,000 acres), which, with the exception of a nook in which some few have established themselves, claiming to be descendants of the original holders, are condemned to sterility, owing to the

agricultural proprietors and the rent-receiving Brahmans being dead; and apathy united to superstition admits their claims without inquiry.

The antiquary who has dipped into the records of the dark period in European church history, can have ocular illustration in Rajast'han of traditions which may in Europe appear questionable. The vision of the Bishop of Orleans,* who saw Charles Martel in the depths of hell, undergoing the tortures of the damned, for having stripped the churches of their possessions, "thereby rendering himself guilty of the sins of all those who had endowed them," would receive implicit credence from every Hindu, whose ecclesiastical economy might both yield and derive illustration from a comparison, not only with that of Europe, but with the more ancient Egyptian and Jewish systems, whose endowments, as explained by Moses and Ezekiel, bear a strong analogy to those of the Hindus. The disposition of landed property in Egypt was, as amongst the ancient Hindus, immemorially vested in the cultivator; and it was only through Joseph's ministry in the famine, that "the land became Pharaoh's, for the Egyptians sold every man his field."† And the coincidence is manifest even in the tax imposed on them as occupants of their ancient inheritance (*wuttun*), being *one-fifth* of the crops to the king, while the maximum rate among the Hindus is a *sixth*.‡ The Hindus also, in visitations such as occasioned the dispossession of the *ryots* of Egypt, can mortgage or sell their patrimony (*bapota*)§. Joseph did not attempt to infringe the privileges of the sacred order when the whole of Egypt became crown-land, "except the lands of the priests which became not Pharaoh's," and these priests, according to Diodorus, held for themselves and the sacrificers no less than *one-third* of the lands of Egypt. But we learn from Herodotus that Sesostris, who ruled after Joseph's

* Saint-Eucher, évêque d'Orléans, eut une vision qui étonna les princes. Il faut que je rapporte à ce sujet la lettre que les évêques, assemblés à Reims, écrivent à Louis-le-Germanique, qui étoit entré dans les terres de Charles-le-chaue, parcequ'elle est très-propre à nous faire voir quel étoit, dans ces temps-là, l'état des choses, et la situation des esprits. Ils disent que "Saint Eucher ayant été ravi dans le ciel, il vit Charles Martel tourmenté dans l'enfer inférieur par l'ordre des saints qui doivent assister avec Jésus-Christ au jugement dernier; qu'il avoit été condamné à cette peine avant le temps pour avoir dépouillé les églises de leurs biens, et s'être par là rendu coupable des péchés de tous ceux qui les avoient dotées."—*Montesquieu, l'Esprit des Loix*, livre xxxi, ch. xi. p. 460.

† Genesis, chap. xlvii. v. 20.

‡ Menu, chap. VII.

§ From *bap*, father.

ministry, divided the lands amongst the people, reserving the customary tribute or tax to the king.*

The prelates of the middle ages of Europe were often completely feudal nobles, swearing fealty and paying homage as did the lay lords.† In Rajast'han, the sacerdotal caste not bound to the altar may hold lands and perform the duties of vassalage:‡ but of late years, when land has been assigned to religious establishments, no reservation has been made of fiscal rights, territorial or commercial. This is, however, an innovation, since, formerly, princes never granted with territorial assignments the prerogative of dispensing justice, of levying transit duties, or exemption from personal service of the feudal tenant who held on the land thus assigned. Well may Rajpút heirs exclaim with the grandson of Clovis, "our exchequer is impoverished, and our riches are transferred to the clergy."|| But Chilperic had the courage to recall the grants of his predecessors, which, however, the pious Gontram re-established. Many Gontrams could be found, though but few Chilperics, in Rajast'han: we have, indeed, one in JOGRAZ, the *Rana's* ancestor, almost a contemporary of the Merovingian king, who not only resumed all the lands of the Brahmans, but put many of them to death, and expelled the rest his dominions.§ It may be doubted whether vanity and shame be not sufficient in themselves to prevent a resumption of the lands of the *Mangtas* or mendicants (as they style all those "who extend the palm," Brahmans and bards), without the dreaded penalty, which operates very slightly on the sub-vassal or cultivator, who, having no superfluity, defies their anathemas when they attempt to wrest from him, by virtue of the crown grant, any of his long-established rights. By these the threat of impure transmigration is despised; and the Brahman may spill his blood on the threshold of his dwelling or in the field in dispute, which will be relinquished by the owner but with his life. The *Pat Raní*, or chief

* "*Origin of Laws and Government*," by the learned Goguet; vol. i. p. 54, and vol. ii. p. 13.

† Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 212.

‡ "A Brahman unable to subsist by his duties just mentioned (sacerdotal), may live by the duty of a soldier." *Menu*, chap. x. || Montesquieu.

§ "Le clergé recevoit tant, qu'il faut que, dans les trois races, on lui ait donné plusieurs fois tous les biens du royaume. Mais si les rois, la noblesse, et le peuple, trouvèrent le moyen de leur donner tous leurs biens, ils ne trouvèrent pas moins celui de les leur ôter."—Montesquieu, *l'Esprit des Loix*, livre xxxi. chap. x.

queen, on the death of prince UMRA, the heir-apparent, in 1818, bestowed a grant of fifteen *bíghs* of land, in one of the central districts, on a Brahman who had assisted in the funeral rites of her son. With grant in hand he hastened to the *Jat* proprietor, and desired him to make over to him the patch of land. The latter coolly replied that he would give him all the prince had a right to, namely, the tax. The Brahman threatened to spill his own blood if he did not obey the command, and gave himself a gash in a limb; but the *Jat* was inflexible, and declared that he would not surrender his patrimony (*bápóta*) even if he slew himself.* In short, the *ryot* of Méwar would reply, even to his sovereign, if he demanded his field, in the very words of Naboth to Ahab, king of Israel, when he demanded the vineyard contiguous to the palace: "The Lord forbid it me that I should give the *inheritance of my fathers* (*bapota*) unto thee."

But the tythes, and other small and legally established rights of the hierarchy, are still religiously maintained. The village temple and the village priest are always objects of veneration to the industrious husbandman, on whom superstition acts more powerfully than on the bold marauding Rajpút, who hesitates not to demand *salvamenta* (*rekwáli*) from the lands of KANIYA or EKLINGA. But the poor *ryot* of the nineteenth century of VICRAMA has the same fears as the peasants of Charlemagne, who were made to believe that the ears of corn found empty had been devoured by infernal spirits, who were reported to have said they owed their feast to the non-payment of tythes.† The political influence of the Brahmans is

* These worshippers of God and Mammon, when threats fail, have recourse to maiming, and even destroying themselves, to gain their object. In 1820 one of the confidential servants of the *Rana* demanded payment of the petty tax called *gúgri*, of one rupee on each house, from some Brahmans who dwelt in the village, and which had always been received from them. They refused payment, and on being pressed, four of them stabbed themselves mortally. Their bodies were placed upon biers, and funeral rites withheld till punishment should be inflicted on the priest-killer. But for once superstition was disregarded, and the rights of the Brahmans in this community were resumed.—See Appendix to this paper, No. I.

† Mais le bas peuple n'est guère capable d'abandonner ses intérêts par des exemples. Le synode de Francfort lui présenta un motif plus pressant pour payer les dîmes. On y fit un capitulaire dans lequel il est dit que, dans la dernière famine, on avoit trouvé les épis de blé vides, qu'ils avoient été dévorés par les démons, et qu'on avoit entendu leurs voix qui reprochoient de n'avoir pas payé la dîme: et, en conséquence, il fut ordonné à tous ceux qui tenoient les biens ecclésiastiques de payer la dîme, et, en conséquence encore, on l'ordonna à tous. *L'Esprit des Lois*, livre xxxi. ch. xii.

frequently exemplified in cases alike prejudicial to the interests of society and the personal welfare of the sovereign. The latter is often surrounded by lay-Brahmans as confidential servants, in the capacities of butler, keeper of the wardrobe, or seneschal,* besides the *Gúrú* or domestic chaplain, who to the duty of ghostly comforter sometimes joins that of astrologer and physician, in which case God help the prince!† These *Gúrús* and *Purohīts* having the education of the children, acquire immense influence; and they are not backward in improving “the greatness thrust upon them.” All these are continually importuning their prince for grants of land for themselves and the shrines they are attached to; and every chief, as well as

* These lay-Brahmans are not wanting in energy or courage; the sword is as familiar to them as the *mala* (chaplet). The grandfather of RAMNAT'II, the present worthy seneschal of the *Rana*, was governor of the turbulent district of Jehajpúr, which has never been so well ruled since. He left a curious piece of advice to his successors, inculcating vigorous measures. “With two thousand men you may eat *khitchri*; with one thousand *dalb'hat*; with five hundred *júti*, (the *shoe*). *Khitchri* is a savoury mess of pulse, rice, butter, and spices; *Dalb'hat* is simple rice and pulse; the *Shoe*, is indelible disgrace.

† MENU, in his rules on government, commands the king to impart his momentous counsel and entrust all transactions to a learned and distinguished Brahman. Chap. vii. p. 195.

There is, no being more aristocratic in his ideas than the secular Brahman or priest, who deems the bare name a passport to respect. The *Kúlun* Brahman of Bengal piques himself upon *this* title of nobility granted by the last Hindu king of Canouj (whence they migrated to Bengal), and in virtue of which his alliance in matrimony is courted. But although MENU has imposed obligations towards the Brahman little short of adoration, these are limited to the “learned in the *Védas*.” he classes the unlearned Brahman with “an elephant made of wood, or an antelope of leather;” nullities, save in name. And he adds further, that “as liberality to a fool is useless, so is a Brahman useless if he read not the holy texts:” comparing the person who gives to such an one, to a husbandman “who, sowing seed in a barren soil, reaps no gain;” so, the Brahman “obtains no reward in heaven.” These sentiments are repeated in numerous texts, holding out the most powerful inducements to the sacerdotal class to cultivate their minds, since their power consists solely in their wisdom. For such, there are no privileges too extensive, no homage too great. “A king, even though dying *with want*, must not receive any tax from a Brahman learned in the *Védas*.” His person is sacred. “Never shall the king slay a Brahman, though convicted of all possible crimes,” is a premium at least to unbounded insolence, and unfits them for members of society, more especially for soldiers: banishment, with person and property untouched, is the declared punishment for even the most heinous crimes. “A Brahman may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his *Súdra* slave.” But the following text is the climax: “What prince could gain wealth by oppressing these [Brahmans], who, if angry, could frame other worlds, and regents of worlds, and could give birth to new gods and mortals?”—MENU, chaps. ii, iii, vii, viii, ix.

every influential domestic, takes advantage of ephemeral favour to increase the endowments of his tutelary divinity. The *Pundits Purdhans*, or *Péshwa* ministers of Satarra, are the most striking out of numerous examples.

In the dark ages of Europe the monks are said to have prostituted their knowledge of writing to the forging of charters in their own favour: a practice not easily detected in the days of ignorance.* The Brahmins, in like manner, do not scruple to employ this method of augmenting the wealth of their shrines; and superstition and indolence combine to favour the deception. There is not a doubt that the grand charter of Nat'hdwara was a forgery, in which the prince's butler was bribed to aid; and report alleges that the *Rana* secretly favoured an artifice which regard to opinion prevented him from overtly promulgating. Although the copper-plate had been buried under ground, and came out disguised with a coating of verdigrise, there were marks which proved the date of its execution to be false. I have seen charters which, it has been gravely asserted, were granted by RAMA upwards of 3,000 years ago! Such is the alleged origin of one found in a well at the ancient Brimpúri, in the valley of Udyapúr (Oodipoor). If there be sceptics as to its validity they are silent ones, and this copper-plate of the brazen age is worth gold to the proprietor.† A census‡ of the three central districts of Méwar discovered that more than 20,000 acres of these fertile lands, irrigated by the Beris and Bunas rivers, were distributed in isolated portions, of which the mendicant (*Mangta*) castes had the chief share, and which proved fertile sources of dispute to the husbandman and the officers of the revenue. From the mass of title-deeds of every description by which these lands were held, one deserves to be selected, on account of its being pretended to have been written and bestowed on the incumbent's ancestor by the deity upwards of three centuries ago, and which has been maintained as a *bonâ-fide* grant of CRISHNA || ever since. By such credulity and apathy are the Rajpút states influenced: yet let the reader check any rising

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. page 204.

† These forgeries of charters cannot be considered as invalidating the arguments drawn from them, as we may rest assured nothing is introduced foreign to custom, in the items of the deeds.

‡ Suggested by the author, and executed under his superintendence, who waded through all these documents, and translated upwards of a hundred of the most curious.

|| See the Appendix to this paper, No. II.

feeling of contempt for Hindu legislation, and cast a retrospective glance at the page of European church history, where he will observe in the time of the most potent of our monarchs that the clergy possessed *one-half* of the soil :* and the chronicles of France will shew him Charlemagne, on his death-bed, bequeathing *two-thirds* of his domains to the church, deeming the remaining third sufficient for the ambition of four sons. The same dread of futurity, and the hope to expiate the sins of a life, at its close, by gifts to the organs of religion, is the motive for these unwise alienations, whether in Europe or in Asia. Some of these establishments, and particularly that at Nat'hdwara, made a proper use of their revenues in keeping up the *Sudda Birt*, or perpetual charity, though it is chiefly distributed to religious pilgrims : but among the many complaints made of the misapplication of the funds, the diminution of this hospitable rite is one ; while at other shrines the avarice of the priests is observable, in the coarseness of the food dressed for sacrifice and offering.

Besides the crown-grants to the greater establishments, the Brahmans received petty tythes from the agriculturist, and a small duty from the trader as *mappa* or metage throughout every township, corresponding with the scale of the village chapel. An inscription found by the author at the town of Palode,† and dated nearly seven centuries back, affords a good specimen of the claims of the village priesthood. The following are among the items. The *sírano*, or a *sír* in every *maund*, being the fortieth part of the grain of the *úndlú*, or summer harvest ; the *kirpa*, or a bundle from every sheaf of the autumnal crops, whether *mukhi* (Indian corn), *bajra* or *joár* (maize), or the other grains peculiar to that season.‡

They also derive a tythe from the oil-mill and sugar-mill, and receive a *khansa* or platter of food on all rejoicings, as births, marriages, &c., with *churaie*, or the right of pasturage on the village common ; and where they have become possessed of landed property, they have *hulmoh*, or unpaid labour in man, beasts, and implements, for its culture—an exaction well known in Europe as one of the detested *corvées* of the feudal system in France ;|| and the abolition of which was the sole boon the English husbandman obtained by the charter of Runymede. Both the chieftain and the priest

* Hallam.

† See Appendix to this paper, No. III.

‡ Each bundle consists of a specified number of ears, which are roasted and eaten in the unripe state with a little salt.

|| *Dict. de l'Ancien Régime*, p. 131 ; art. *Corvée*.

exact *hulmoh* in Rajast'han, but in that country it is mitigated, and abuse is prevented, by a sentiment unknown to the feudal despot of the middle ages of Europe, and which, though difficult to define, acts imperceptibly, and has its source in accordance of belief, patriarchal manners, and clannish attachments.

I shall now briefly consider the privileges of the *Saivás* and *Jains*—the orthodox and heterodox sects of Méwar; and then proceed to those of *VISHNÚ*, whose worship is the most prevalent in these countries, and which I am inclined to regard as of more recent origin.

MAHADEVA or *ISWARA* (*Osiris*), the *creative power*, is the tutelary divinity of the Rajpúts in Méwar; and from the early annals of the dynasty appears to have been, with his consort *ISANI* (*Isis*), the sole object of adoration to the *Gehlotes*, the chief of the *Suryas*, or sun-born race. *ISWARA* is adored under the epithet of *EKLINGA*,* and is either worshipped in his monolithic symbol, the *lingam* or phallus, or as *ISWARA CHAOMÚK'HI*, the quadriform divinity, represented by a bust with four (*cháo*) faces (*múkh*). The sacred bull (*NANDA*) has his altar attached to all the shrines of *ISWARA*, as was that of *MNEVES* or *APIS* to those of the Egyptian *OSIRIS*, worshipped on the Nile, as in Méwar, under his emblem, the phallus. *NANDA* has occasionally his separate shrines, and there is one in the valley of Udyapúr whose reputation is oracular as regards the seasons. The bull was the steed of *ISWARA*, and carried him in battle. He is often represented with his consort *ISA* at full speed on the bull. I will not stop to inquire whether the Grecian fable of the rape of *EUROPA*† by the tauriform *JUPITER*, as well as the *JUPITER SERAPIS*, the *Osiris*, Lord of *Apis*, of the Egyptians, may

* That is, with *one (ek) lingam* or phallus—the symbol of worship being a single cylindrical or conical stone. There are others, termed *Seheslinga* and *Kot-iswara*, with a thousand or a million of phallic representatives, all minutely carved on the monolithic emblem, having then much resemblance to the symbol of Bacchus, whose orgies both in Egypt and Greece are the counterpart of those of the Hindu *BAGH-ES*, thus called from being clad in a tiger's or leopard's hide: Bacchus had the panther's for his covering. There is a very ancient temple to *KOTISWARA* at the *embouchure* of the eastern arm of the Indus; and there are many to *SEHES-LINGA* in the peninsula of Saurashtra.

† It might have appeared fanciful, some time ago, to have given a Sanscrit derivation to a Greek proper name: but *Europa* might be derived from *Súrúpa*—"of the beautiful face"—the initial syllable *su* and *eu* having the same signification in both languages, viz. *good*—*Rúpa* is 'countenance.'

not, with much more of their mythology, be derived from the Hindu pantheon; whether that pantheon was originally erected on the Indus or the Ganges, or the more central scene of early civilization, the banks of the Oxus. The bull was offered to MITHRAS by the Persian, and opposed as it now appears to Hindu faith, he formerly bled on the altars of the Sun-god (BAL-ISWARA), on which not only the *Bul-dán** (*offering of the bull*) was made, but human sacrifices.† We do not learn that the Egyptian priesthood presented the kindred of APIS to OSIRIS, but as they were not prohibited from eating beef, they may have done so. These mythological analogies in ancient idolatrous worship can scarcely be deemed fortuitous; but as the subject will be resumed in describing the festival of ISWARA and ISA (*Osiris and Isis*) at Udyapúr, we shall not pursue it further at present.

The shrine of EKLINGA is situated in a defile about six miles north of Udyapúr. The hills towering around it on all sides are of the primitive formation, and their scarped summits are clustered with honeycombs.‡ There are abundant small springs of water which keep verdant numerous shrubs, the

* "In this sacrifice four altars are erected, for offering the flesh to the four gods, LACSHMI-NARAYANA, U'MIA-MECHÉSWAR, BRIMHA, and ANUNTA. The nine planets, and PRIT'HU, or the earth, with her ten guardian-deities, are worshipped. Five *Vilwà*, five *Khūdirū*, five *Pūlashū*, and five *Udumbūrū* posts are to be erected, and a bull tied to each post. Clarified butter is burnt on the altar, and pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered animals placed thereon. This sacrifice was very common."—Ward *on the Religion of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 263.

† First a covered altar is to be prepared, sixteen posts are then to be erected of various woods; a golden image of a man, and an iron one of a goat, with golden images of VISHNU and LACSHMI, a silver one of SIVA, with a golden bull, and a silver one of GARUDA (*the eagle*) are placed upon the altar. Animals, as goats, sheep, &c., are tied to the posts, and to one or them, of the wood of the *mimosa*, is to be tied the human victim. Fire is to be kindled by means of a burning glass. The sacrificing priest (*hota*) strews the grass called *d'hub* or immortal, round the sacred fire. Then follows the burnt sacrifice to the ten guardian deities of the earth—to the nine planets, and to the Hindu Triad, to each of whom clarified butter is poured on the sacred fire one thousand times. Another burnt-sacrifice, to the sixty-four inferior gods follows, which is succeeded by the sacrifice and offering of all the other animals tied to the posts. The human sacrifice concludes; the sacrificing priest offering pieces of the flesh of the victim to each god as he circumambulates the altar. *Ibid.* 260.

‡ This is to be taken in its literal sense; the economy of the bee being displayed in the formation of extensive colonies, which inhabit large masses of black comb adhering to the summits of the rocks. According to the legends of these tracts they were called in as auxiliaries on Mahommedan invasions, and are said to have thrown the enemy more than once into confusion.

flowers of which are acceptable to the deity; especially the *kinér* or oleander, which grows in great luxuriance on the Aravulli. Groves of bamboo and mango were formerly common, according to tradition; but although it is deemed sacrilege to thin the groves of BÁL,* the bamboo has been nearly destroyed: there are, however, still many trees sacred to the god scattered around. It would be difficult to convey a just idea of a temple so complicated in its detail. It is of the form commonly styled pagoda, and like all the ancient temples of SIVA, its *sikra*, or pinnacle, is pyramidal. The various orders of Hindu sacred architecture are distinguished by the form of the *sikra*, which is the portion springing from and surmounting the perpendicular walls of the body of the temple. The *sikra* of those of SIVA is invariably pyramidal, and its sides vary with the base, whether square or oblong. The apex is crowned with an ornamental figure, as a sphynx, an urn, a ball, or a lion, which is called the *kullus*. When the *sikra* is but the frustrum of a pyramid, it is often surmounted by a row of lions, as at Bijolli. The fane of EKLINGA is of white marble and of ample dimensions. Under an open-vaulted temple supported by columns, and fronting the four-faced divinity, is the brazen bull, NANDA, of the natural size; it is cast, and of excellent proportions. The figure is perfect, except where the shot or hammer of an infidel invader has penetrated its hollow flank in search of treasure. Within the quadrangle are miniature shrines, containing some of the minor divinities.† The high-priest of EKLINGA, like all his order, is doomed to celibacy, and the office is continued by adopted disciples. Of such spiritual descents they calculate sixty-four since the Sage

* See Appendix to this paper, No. IV.

† In June 1806 I was present at a meeting between the Rana and SINDIA at the shrine of EKLINGA. The rapacious Mahratta had just forced the passes to the Rana's capital, which was the commencement of a series of aggressions involving one of the most tragical events in the history of Méwar—the immolation of the Princess KISHNA and the subsequent ruin of the country. I was then an *Attaché* of the British embassy to the Mahratta prince, who carried the ambassador to the meeting to increase his consequence. In March 1818 I again visited the shrine on my way to Udyapúr, but under very different circumstances—to announce the deliverance of the family from oppression, and to labour for its prosperity. While standing without the sanctuary looking at the quadriform divinity, and musing on the changes of the intervening twelve years, my meditations were broken by an old Rajpút chieftain, who, saluting me, invited me to enter and adore “BABA ADAM,” Father Adam, as he termed the *phallic* emblem. I excused myself on account of my boots, which I said I could not remove, and that with them I would not cross the threshold—a reply which pleased him, and preceded me to the Rana's court.

HARITA, whose benediction obtained for the Gehlote Rajpút the sovereignty of Chítore, when successively driven from *Sauráshtra* by the Parthians, and from Edur by the Bhils.

The priests of EKLINGA are termed *Gosaén* or *Goswámi*, which signifies "control over the senses!"* The distinguishing mark of the faith of SÍVA is the créscent on the forehead :† the hair is braided and forms a tiara round the head, and with its folds a chaplet of the lotus seed is often entwined. They smear the body with ashes, and use garments dyed of an orange hue. They bury their dead frequently in a sitting posture, and erect tumuli over them, which are generally conical in form.‡ It is far from uncommon to have priestesses officiating in the temple of SÍVA. There is a numerous class of *Gosaéns* who have adopted celibacy, and who yet follow secular employments both in commerce and arms. The mercantile *Gosaéns* are amongst the richest individuals in India, and there are several at Udyapúr who enjoy high favour, and who were found very useful when the Mahrattas demanded a war-contribution, as their privileged character did not prevent their being offered and taken as hostages for its payment. The *Gosaéns* who profess arms, partake of the character of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. They live in monasteries scattered over the country, possess lands, and beg, or serve for pay when called upon. As defensive soldiers they are good. SÍVA, their patron, is the god of war, and like him they make great use of intoxicating herbs, and even of spirituous liquors. In Méwar they can always muster many hundreds of the *Kanfera Jogi*, or "split-car ascetic," so called from the habit of piercing the ear and placing therein a ring of the conch-shell, which is their battle-trumpet. Both Brahmans and Rajpúts, and even Gújurs, can belong to this order, a particular account of whose internal discipline and economy could not fail to be interesting. The poet CHAND gives an animated description of the body-guard § of the King of Canouj, which was composed of these monastic warriors.

* This word is compounded of *go*, the senses, and *saén* or *swami*, lord or master.

† SÍVA is represented with three eyes. Hence his title of *Trinitra* and *Tri-lochun*, the Tri-ophthalmic Jupiter of the Greeks. From the fire of the central eye of SÍVA is to proceed *Pralaya*, or the final destruction of the universe.

‡ I have seen a cemetery of these, each of very small dimensions, which may be described as so many concentric rings of earth, diminishing to the apex, crowned with a cylindrical stone pillar. One of the disciples of SÍVA was performing rites to the *manes*, strewing leaves of an evergreen and sprinkling water over the graves.

§ For a minute description of this, vide "*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*," vol. i. p. 217.

The *Rana* of Méwar, as the *déwan* or vicegerent of SIVA, when he goes to the temple supersedes the high priest in his duties, and performs the ceremonies with peculiar correctness and grace.*

The shrine of EKLINGA is endowed with twenty-four large villages from the *khakisa* or fisc, besides parcels of land from the chieftains; but the privileges of the tutelary divinity have been waning since KANIYA fixed his residence amongst them: and as the priests of APOLLO complained that the god was driven from the sacred mount *Girdhana*, in Vrij, by the influence of those of Jupiter† with Shah Jehan, the latter may now lament that the day of retribution has arrived, when propitiation to the Preserver and Mediator is deemed more important than to the Creator or Destroyer. This may arise from the personal character of the high priests, who, as from their vicinity to the court they can scarcely avoid mingling in its intrigues, so they cannot fail to lose in character both there and with the inferior classes: even the *Ranis* do not hesitate to take mortgages on the estates of B'HOLA NAT'H.‡

We shall not further enlarge on the immunities to EKLINGA, or the forms in which they are conveyed, as these will be fully discussed in the account of the shrine of CRISHNA; but proceed to notice the privileges of the heterodox *Jains*—the *Védīavān*§ or *Magi* of Rajast'han.

The numbers and power of these sectarians are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted that they are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark, that the pontiff of the *Khartra-gatcha*,|| one of the many branches of this faith,

* The copy of the *Siva Púrana* which I had the honour to present to the *Royal Asiatic Society* was obtained for me by the *Rana* from the temple of EKLINGA.

† JIVA-PITRI, the '*father of life*,' would be a very proper epithet for MAHADÉVA, the '*creative power*,' whose Olympus is Kailás.

‡ B'HOLA NAT'H, or the '*Simple God*,' is one of the epithets of SIVA, whose want of reflection is so great, that he would give away his own divinity if asked.

§ *Védīavān*, the '*Man of Secrets or Knowledge*,' is the term used by way of reproach to the *Jains*, having the import of *magician*. Their opponents believe them to be possessed of supernatural skill; and it is recorded of the celebrated UMARA, author of the *Cos'a* or dictionary called after him, that he miraculously "*made the full moon appear on Amavus*"—the ides of the month, when the planet is invisible.

|| *Khartra* signifies '*true*,' an epithet of distinction which was bestowed by that great supporter of the Buddhists or *Jains*, SIDRAJ, king of Anhulwarra Putun, on one of the branches (*gatcha*) in a grand religious disputation (*badha*) at that capital in the eleventh century. The

has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India; that a single community, the *Ossi* or *Oswal*,* numbers 100,000 families; and that more than half of the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the *Jain* laity. Rajast'han and Saurashtra are the cradles of the Buddhist or *Jain* faith, and three out of their five sacred mounts, namely, Abu, Palit'hana,† and Girnar, are in these countries. The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the *Jain* laity, as are the majority of the bankers from Lahore to the ocean. The *Nuggur-Sét'h* and *Chotias*, or chief magistrate and assessors of justice, in Udyapúr and most of the towns of Rajast'han, are of this sect; and as their voluntary duties are confined to civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their

celebrated HEMACHANDRA ACHARYA was head of the *Khartra-gatcha*; and his spiritual descendant honoured Udyapúr with his presence in his visit to his dioceses in the desert in 1821. My own *Yati* tutor was a disciple of HEMACHANDRA, and his *patravali* or pedigree registered his descent by spiritual successions from him.

This pontiff was a man of extensive learning, and of estimable character. He was versed in all the ancient inscriptions to which no key now exists, and decyphered one for me which had been long unintelligible. His travelling library was of considerable extent, though chiefly composed of works relating to the ceremonies of his religion: it was in the charge of two of his disciples, remarkable for talent, and who, like himself, were perfectly acquainted with all these ancient characters. The pontiff kindly permitted my *Yati* to bring for my inspection some of the letters of invitation written by his flocks in the desert. These were rolls, some of them several feet in length, containing pictured delineations of their wishes. One from Bikanér represented that city, in one division of which was the school or college of the *Jains*, where the *Yatis* were all pourtrayed at their various studies. In another part a procession of them was quitting the southern gate of the city, the head of which was in the act of delivering a scroll to a messenger, while the pontiff was seen with his *cortège* advancing in the distance. To shew the respect in which these high priests of the *Jains* are held, the princes of Rajpútana invariably advance outside the walls of their capital to receive and conduct them to it—a mark of respect paid only to princes. On the occasion of the high priest of the *Khartras* passing through Udyapúr, as above alluded to, the *Rana* received him with every distinction.

* So called from the town of Ossa, in Marwar.

† Pali-t'hana or "the abode of the Pali," is the name of the town at the foot of the sacred mount Satrunjya (signifying 'victorious over the foe'), on which the *Jain* temples are sacred to BUDDH-ISWARA, or the 'Lord of the Buddhists.' I have little doubt that the name of Palit'hana is derived from the pastoral (*pali*) Scythic invaders bringing the Buddhist faith in their train—a faith which appears to me not indigenous to India. Palestine, which with the whole of Syria and Egypt, was ruled by the Yksos or shepherd-kings, who for a season expelled the old Coptic race, may have had a similar import to the *Pali-t'hana* founded by the Indo-Scythic Pali. The author visited all these sacred mounts.

tenets forbidding the shedding of blood. To this leading feature in their religion they owe their political debasement: for KOMARPAL, the last king of Anhulwara of the *Jain* faith, would not march his armies in the rains, from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life which must have ensued. The strict *Jain* does not even maintain a lamp during that season, lest it should attract moths to their destruction.

The period of sectarian intolerance is past; and as far as my observation goes, the ministers of VISHNU, SIVA, and BÚDDHA, view each other without malignity, which feeling never appears to have influenced the laity of either sect, who are indiscriminately respectful to the ministers of all religions, whatever be their tenets. It is sufficient that their office is one of sanctity and that they are ministers of the Divinity, who, they say, excludes the homage of none, in whatever tongue, or whatever manner he is sought; and with this spirit of entire toleration, the devout missionary or *Múlla* would in no country meet more security or hospitable courtesy than among the Rajpúts. They must, however, adopt the toleration they would find practised towards themselves, and not exclude, as some of them do, the races of *Súrya* and *Chandra* from divine mercy, who, with less arrogance and more reliance on the compassionate nature of the Creator, say he has established a variety of paths by which the good may attain beatitude.

Méwar has, from the most remote period, afforded a refuge to the followers of the *Jain* faith, which was the religion of Balabhi, the first capital of the *Rana's* ancestors, the Balhara sovereigns of Saurashtra, and many monuments attest the support this family has granted to its professors in all the vicissitudes of their fortunes. One of the best preserved monumental remains in India is a column most elaborately sculptured, full seventy feet in height, dedicated to PARSWA-NAT'H, in Chítore. The noblest remains of sacred architecture, not in Méwar only, but throughout Western India, are Buddhist or *Jain*: and the many ancient cities where this religion was fostered have inscriptions which evince their prosperity in these countries with whose history their own is interwoven. In fine, the necrological records of the *Jains* bear witness to their having occupied a distinguished place in Rajpút society; and the privileges they yet enjoy prove that they are not even now overlooked.

It is not my intention to say more on the past or present history of these sectarians than may be necessary to shew the footing on which their establishments are placed: to which end little is required beyond copies of a

few simple warrants and ordinances in their favour.* . On a future occasion, I may endeavour to add something to the stores of knowledge already possessed of these the deists of Rajast'han, whose singular communities contain mines of knowledge hitherto inaccessible to Europeans. The libraries of Jessulmér in the desert, of Anhulwara the cradle of their faith, of Cambay, and other places of minor importance, consist of thousands of volumes. These are under the control, not of the priests alone, but of communities of the most wealthy and respectable amongst the laity, and are preserved in the crypts of their temples, which precaution ensured their existence, as well as that of the statues of their deified teachers, when the temples themselves were destroyed by the Mahomedan invader, who paid more deference to the images of BUDDHA than to those of SÍVA or VISHNU. The preservation of the former is in part owing to the natural formation of their statues; and while many of ADNAT'H, of NÉMI, and of PARSWA have escaped the hammer, there is scarcely a KANIYA (*Apollo*) or a REMBHA (*Venus*) of any antiquity, with a nose, from Lahore to Ram-iswara. The two arms of these theists sufficed for their protection; while the statues of the polytheists, though gifted with as many as Briareus, have met with no mercy.

No. V.† is the translation of a grant by the celebrated *Rana RAJ SING*, the gallant and successful opponent of ARUNGZÉB in many a battle. It is at once of a general and special nature, containing a confirmation of the old privileges of the sect, and a mark of favour to a priest of some distinction called MANOH. It is well known that the first law of the *Jains*, like that of the ancient Athenian lawgiver Triptolemus, is "Thou shalt not kill," a precept applicable to every sentient being. The first clause of this edict, in conformity thereto, prohibits all innovation upon this cherished principle; while the second declares that even the life which is forfeited to the laws is immortal (*umra*) if the victim but passes their abodes. The third article defines the extent of *sirna*, or sanctuary, the dearest privilege of the races of these regions, whose temples are as sacred to the refugee, as were those of the Levite of Israel, or the shrines of Greece. The fourth article sanctions the tythes, both on agricultural and commercial produce; and makes no distinction between the *Jain* priests and those of SIVA and VISHNU in this source of income, which will be more fully detailed in the account of Nat'h-dwara. The fifth article is the particular gift to the priest; and the whole closes with the usual anathema against such as may infringe the ordinance.

* See Appendix to this paper.

† Ibid.

The edicts Nos. VI. and VII,* engraved on pillars of stone in the towns of Rasmi and Bakrole, further illustrate the scrupulous observances of the *Rana's* house towards the *Jains*; where, in compliance with their peculiar doctrine, the oil-mill and the potter's wheel suspend their revolutions for the four months in the year when insects most abound. Many others of a similar character could be furnished, but these remarks may be concluded with an instance of the influence of the *Jains* on Rajpút society which passed immediately under the author's eye. In the midst of a sacrifice to the god of war, when the victims were rapidly falling by the scymitar, a request preferred by one of them for the life of a goat or a buffalo on the point of immolation, met instant compliance, and the animal now declared *amara* or immortal, with a garland thrown round his neck, was led off in triumph from the blood-stained spot.

NAT'HDWARA.—This is the most celebrated of the fanes of the Hindu Apollo. Its etymology is 'the portal (*dwára*) of the god' (*Nat'h*), of the same import as his more ancient shrine of Dwaricat† at the world's end (*Juggut Kúnt*). Nat'hdwara is twenty-two miles N.N.E. of Udyapúr, on the right bank of the Bunas. Although the principal resort of the followers of VISHNU, it has nothing very remarkable in its structure or situation. It owes its celebrity entirely to the image of CRISHNA, which is the same that has been worshipped at Mat'hura since his deification, between eleven and twelve hundred years before Christ.‡ As containing the representative of the mildest of the gods of *Hind*, Nat'hdwara is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage, though it must want that attraction to the classical Hindu, which the caves of Gaya, the shores of the distant Dwarica, or the pastoral Vrij,§ the place of the nativity of CRISHNA, present

* See Appendix to this article.

† Dwarica is at the point called Juggut Kúnt, of the Saurashtra peninsula. *Ca* is the mark of the genitive case. *Dwar-ca-nat'h* would be the "gate of the god."

‡ Fifty-seven descents are given both in their sacred and profane genealogies from CRISHNA to the princes supposed to have been cotemporary with VICRAMADITYA. The *Yadu B'hatti* or *Shama B'hatti* (the *Asham Bétti* of Abul Fuzil), draw their pedigree from CRISHNA or YADU-NAT'H, as do the *Jharéjas* of Kutch.

§ With Mat'hura as a centre and a radius of eighty miles, describe a circle: all within it is Vrij, which was the seat of whatever was refined in Hinduism, and whose language, the Vrij-basha, was the purest dialect of India. *Vrij* is tantamount to the land of the Suraseni, derived from SURSÉN, the ancestor of CRISHNA, whose capital, Súr-púri, is about fifty miles south of

to his imagination; for though the groves of Vindra,* in which KANIYA disported with the *Gopis*, no longer resound to the echoes of his flute; though the waters of the Yamunat† are daily polluted with the blood of the sacred kine, still it is the holy land of the pilgrim, the sacred Jordan of his fancy, on whose banks he may sit and weep, as did the banished Israelite of old, the glories of Mat'hura, his Jerusalem!

It was in the reign of ARUNGZÉBE that the pastoral divinity was exiled from Vrij, that classic soil, which, during a period of two thousand eight hundred years had been the sanctuary of his worshippers. He had been compelled to occasional flights during the visitations of MAHMÚD and the first dynasties of Afghan invaders; though the more tolerant of the Mogul kings not only reinstated him, but were suspected of dividing their faith between KANIYA and the prophet. AKBER was an enthusiast in the mystic poetry of JYDÉVA, which paints in rich and glowing colours the loves of KANIYA and RAD'HA, in which lovely personification the refined Hindu abjures all sensual interpretation, asserting its character of pure spiritual love. It affords an example of the Hindu doctrine of the Metempsychosis, as well as of the regard which AKBER's toleration had obtained him, to mention, that they held his body to be animated by the soul of a celebrated Hindu gymnosophist: in support of which, they say, he (AKBER) went to his accustomed spot of penance (*tapasya*) at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges, and excavated the implements, *viz.* the tongs, gourd, and deer-skin, of his anchorite existence. JEIANGÍR, by birth half a Rajpút, was equally indulgent to the worship of KANIYA: but SHAH JEHAN, also the son of a Rajpút princess, inclined to the doctrines of SIVA, in which he was initiated by SID-RUP *Sanyasi*. Sectarian animosity is more virulent than faiths totally dissimilar. Here we see Hindu depressing Hindu: the

Mat'hura on the Yamuna (Jumna); the remains of this city (Súrpúri) the author had the pleasure of discovering. The province of the Surséni, or Suraseni, is defined by MĒNU, and particularly mentioned by the historians of Alexander.

* *Vindra-vana*, or the "forests of Vindra," in which were placed many temples sacred to KANIYA, is on the Yamuna, a few miles above Mat'hura. A pilgrimage to this temple is indispensable to the true votary of CRISHNA.

† This river is called the *Kal Yamuna*, or *black Yamuna*, and *Kali-dé* or the "black pool," from KANIYA having destroyed the hydra KALIYA which infested it. JYDEVA calls the Yamuna "*the blue daughter of the sun.*"

followers of SRVA oppressing those of KANIYA; the priests of JUPITER driving the pastoral APOLLO from the Parnassus (*Girdhana*) of Vrij. At the intercession, however, of a princess of Udyapúr, APOLLO was replaced on his altar, where he remained till ARUNGZÉBE became emperor of the Moguls. In such detestation did the Hindus hold this intolerant king, that in like manner as they supposed the beneficent AKBER to be *Mokund Brimachari*, the most devout of men, in a former birth, so they invest the tyrant's body with the soul of KAL YAMAN, the foe of CRISHNA, ere his apotheosis, and to avoid whom he fled from the sacred territory to Dwarica, and thence acquired the name of RINCHOR.*

When ARUNGZÉBE proscribed KANIYA, and rendered his shrines impure throughout Vrij, *Rana* RAJ SING of Udyapúr "offered the heads of one hundred thousand of his Rajpúts for his service," and the god was conducted by the route of Kotah and Rampúra to Méwar. An omen decided the spot of the future residence of KANIYA, for as he journeyed to gain the capital of the Sísodias, the chariot-wheel sunk deep into the earth and defied extrication. The *Súkuni* (augur) interpreted the pleasure of the god, that he desired to dwell there. This circumstance occurred at an inconsiderable village called Siarh, in the fief of DAILWARA, one of the sixteen nobles of Méwar.

Rejoiced at this decided manifestation of favour, the chief hastened to make a perpetual gift of the village and its lands, which was speedily confirmed by the patent of the *Rana*.† *Nat'hji* (the god) was removed from his car, and in time a temple was erected for his reception, when the hamlet of Siarh became the town of Nat'hdwara, which now contains many thousand inhabitants, of all denominations, who, reposing under the especial protection of the god, are exempt from every mortal tribunal. Its site is not uninteresting, nor is it devoid of the means of defence. To the east it is shut in by a cluster of hills, and to the westward flows the Bunas, which nearly bathes the extreme points of the hills. Within these bounds is the sanctuary (*sirna*) of KANIYA, where the criminal is free from pursuit; nor

* *Rin*, the "field of battle," *Chor*, from *chorna*, to abandon. Hence RINCHOR, one of the titles under which CRISHNA is worshipped at Dwarica, is most unpropitious to the martial Rajpút. KAL-YAMUN, the foe from whom he fled, and who is figured as a serpent, is doubtless the *Tak*, the ancient foe of the *Yadús*, who slew JANMÉJA, emperor of the *Pandús*.

† See Appendix to this paper, No. VIII.

dare the rod of justice appear on the Mount, or the foot of the pursuer pass the stream ; neither within it can blood be spilt, for the pastoral KANIYA delights not in offerings of this kind. The territory contains within its precincts abundant space for the town, the temple, and the establishments of the priests, as well as the numerous resident worshippers, and the constant influx of votaries from the most distant regions,

“ From Samarcand by Oxus, TEMIR’s throne,
“ Down to the golden Chersonese ;”

who find abundant shelter from the noontide blaze in the groves of *tamarind*, *pípul*, and *semul*, where they listen to the divine melodies of GOVINDA or the mystic hymns of JYDEVA. Here those whom ambition has cloyed, superstition unsettled, satiety disgusted, commerce ruined, or crime disquieted, may be found as ascetic attendants on the mildest of the gods of India. Renouncing the world, they first renounce the ties that bind them to it, whether family, friends, or fortune, and placing their wealth at the disposal of KANIYA, stipulate only for a portion of the food dressed for him, and to be permitted to prostrate themselves before him till their allotted time is expired. Here no blood-stained sacrifice scares the timid devotee ; no austerities terrify, or tedious ceremonies fatigue him ; he is taught to cherish the hope that he has only to ask for mercy, to obtain it ; and to believe that the compassionate deity who guarded the lapwing’s nest* in the

* Whoever has unhooded the falcon at a lapwing, or even scared one from her nest, need not be told of its peculiarly distressing scream, as if appealing to sympathy. The allusion here is to the lapwing scared from her nest, as the rival armies of the *Cúrús* and *Pandús* joined in battle, when the compassionate CRISHNA, taking from an elephant’s neck a war-bell (*vira-gunt’ha*), covered the nest, in order to protect it.

When the majority of the feudal nobles of Marwar became self-exiled, to avoid the almost demoniac fury of their sovereign, since his alliance with the British government, ANAR SING, the chief of *Ahore*, a fine specimen of the *Rahtore Rajpút*, brave, intelligent, and amiable, was one day lamenting that while all India was enjoying tranquillity under the shield of Britain, they alone were suffering from the caprice of a tyrant ; concluding a powerful appeal to my personal interposition with the foregoing allegory, and observing on the beauty of the office of mediator. “ You are all powerful,” added he, “ and we may be of little account in the grand scale of affairs ; but CRISHNA condescended to protect even the lapwing’s egg in the midst of battle.” This brave man knew my anxiety to make their peace with their sovereign, and being acquainted with the allegory, I replied with some fervour, in the same strain, “ Would to God, *Thakoor Sahib*, I had the *vira-gunt’ha* to protect you.” The effect was instantaneous, and the eye

midst of myriads of combatants ; who gave beatitude to the courtesan* who, as the wall crushed her, pronounced the name of " RAMA," will not withhold it from him who has quitted the world and its allurements that he may live in his presence, be fed by the food prepared for himself, and yield up his last sigh invoking the name of HERI. There are not less than two hundred individuals at this time, most of whom, stipulating merely for food, raiment, and funeral rites, have abandoned all to pass their days in devotion at the shrine of KANIYA : men of every condition, Rajpút, merchant, and mechanic ; and where sincerity of devotion is the sole expiation, and gifts outweigh penance, they must feel the road to futurity as smooth as any which leads to the haven of hope.

The dead stock of CRISHNA's shrine is augmented chiefly by " those who hold life unstable as the dew-drop on the lotus ;" " brittle as a blade of grass ;" and riches " as a vain shadow ;" and who are happy to barter " the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" for the intercessional prayers of the high-priest, and his passport to *Heri-púr*, the heaven of HERI. From the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges, from the coasts of the Peninsula to the shores of the Red Sea, the gifts of gratitude or of fear are lavishly poured in ; and though the unsettled aspect of the last half century curtailed the transmission of the more bulky, but least valuable benefactions, it little affected the bills of exchange from the successful sons of commerce, or the legacies of the dead. The safe arrival of a galleon from Sofala or Arabia produced at least as much to the shrine as to the insurance-office, for KANIYA is the Saint NICHOLAS of the Hindu navigator, as was APOLLO to the Grecian and Celtic sailors, who purchased his charmed arrows from the priestess to calm the troubled sea.† A storm accordingly

of this manly chieftain, who had often fearlessly encountered the foe in battle, filled with tears as, holding out his hand, he said, " At least you listen to our griefs, and speak the language of friendship. Say but the word, and you may command the services of twenty thousand *Rahtores*." There is, indeed, no human being more susceptible of excitement, and, under it, of being led to any desperate purpose, whether for good or for evil, than the Rajpút.

* CHUND, the bard, gives this instance of the compassionate nature of CRISHNA, taken, as well as the former, from the *Mahabharat*.

† Near the town of Avranches, on the coast of Normandy, is a rock called Mont St. Michel, in ancient times sacred to the Gallic or Celtic APOLLO, who was called BELENUS ; a name which the author from whom we quote observes, " certainly came from the East, and proves that the " littoral provinces of Gaul were visited by the Phœnicians." " A college of Druidical priestesses

yields in proportion to its violence, or to the nerve of the owner of the vessel. The appearance of a long-denied heir may deprive him of half his patrimony, and force him to lament his parents' distrust in natural causes; while the accidental mistake of touching forbidden foods on particular fasts requires expiation, not by flagellation or seclusion, but by the penance of the purse.

There is no donation too great or too trifling for the acceptance of CRISHNA, from the baronial estate to a patch of meadow-land; from the gemmed coronet to adorn the image of the god to the widow's mite; nor is there a principality in India which does not diminish its fisc to add to the revenues of NAT'HDWARA. What effect the milder rites of the shepherd-god have produced on the martial adorers of SIVA we know not, but assuredly EKLINGA, the tutelary divinity of Méwar, has to complain of being defrauded of half his dues since KANIYA transferred his abode from the Yamuna to the Bunas. By a strange inconsistency, the revenues assigned by the RANA to KANIYA, who under the epithet of *Pitámbara* (or god of the yellow mantle) has a distinguished niche in his domestic chapel, far exceed those of the Avenger (EKLINGA), whose vicegerent he is. The grants or patents from the RANA, the head of all the martial races,* defining the privileges and immunities of the shrine, are curious documents.†

The extension of the sanctuary by the RANA beyond the vicinage of the shrine became a subject of much animadversion; and in delegating judicial

“ was established there, who sold to seafaring men certain arrows endowed with the peculiar virtue of allaying storms, if shot into the waves by a young mariner. Upon the vessel arriving safe, the young archer was sent by the crew to offer thanks and rewards to the priestesses. His presents were accepted in the most graceful manner; and at his departure the fair priestesses, who had received his embraces, presented to him a number of shells, which afterwards he never failed to use in adorning his person.”—*Tour through France*.

When the early Christian warrior consecrated this mount to his protector St. Michel, its name was changed from *Mons Jovis* (because dedicated to JUPITER), to *Tumba*, supposed from *tumulus*, a mound; but as the Saxons and Celts placed pillars on all these mounts, dedicated to the Sun-god BELENUS, BAL, or APOLLO, so it is not unlikely that the derivation of *Tumba* is from the Sanscrit *t'humba*, or *st'humba*, a pillar, instead of from *tumulus*.

* *Hindupáti*, vulgò *Hinduput*, “ chief of the Hindu race,” is a title justly appertaining to the RANAS of Méwar. It has, however, been assumed by chieftains scarcely superior to some of his vassals, though with some degree of pretension by SEVAJI, who, had he been spared, might have worked out the redemption of his nation, and of the RANA's house, from which he sprung.

† See Appendix to this paper, Nos. ix and x.

authority over the whole of the villages in the grant, to the priests, he committed the temporal welfare of his subjects to a class of men not apt to be lenient in the collection of their dues, which not unfrequently led to bloodshed. In alienating the other royalties, especially the transit duties, he was censured even by the zealots of CRISHNA. Yet, however important such concessions, they were of subordinate value to the rights of sanctuary, which were extended to the whole of the towns in the grant, thereby multiplying the places of refuge for crime, already too numerous.

In all ages and countries the rights of sanctuary have been admitted, and however they may be abused, their institution sprung from humane motives. To check the impulse of revenge and to shelter the weak from oppression are noble objects, and the surest test of the independence of a state is the extent to which they are carried. From the remotest times *sirna* has been the most valued privilege of the Rajpúts, the lowest of whom deems his house a refuge against the most powerful. But we merely propose here to discuss the sanctuary of holy places, and more immediately that of the shrine of KANIYA.

When Moses, after the Exodus, made a division of the lands of Canaan amongst the Israelites; and appointed "six cities to be the refuge of him who had slain unwittingly, from the avenger of blood,"* the intent of this appointment was not to afford facilities for eluding justice, but to check the impulse of sudden revenge; for the slayer was only to be protected "until he stood before the congregation for judgment, or until the death of the high-priest," which event appears to have been considered as the termination of revenge: "then did the slayer return to the city from whence he fled."† The infraction of political sanctuary (*sirna túrna*) often gives rise to the most inveterate feuds; and its abuse by the priests, both of EKLINGA

* Numbers, chap. xxxv. v. 11, 12.

† Numbers, chap. xxxv. v. 25, and Joshua, chap. xx. v. 6. There was an ancient law of Athens analogous to the Mosaic, by which he who committed "*chance-medley*," should fly the country for a year, during which his relatives made satisfaction to the relatives of the deceased. The Greeks had *asyla* for every description of criminals, which could not be violated without infamy. Gibbon gives a memorable instance of disregard of the sanctuary of St. Julian in Auvergne, by the soldiers of the Frank king Theodoric, who divided the spoils of the altar, and made the priests captives: an impiety not only unsanctioned by the son of Clovis, but punished by the death of the offenders, the restoration of the plunder, and the extension of the right of sanctuary five miles around the sepulchre of the holy martyr.

and KANIYA, is highly prejudicial to society. MOSES appointed but six cities of refuge to the whole Levite tribe ; but the RANA has assigned more to the shrine of CRISHNA alone than the entire possessions of that branch of the Israelites, who had but forty-two cities, while KANIYA has forty-six. The motive of such sanctuary in Rajast'han was originally the same as that of the divine legislator ; but it has been corrupted and abused, and the most notorious criminals deem the temple their best safeguard. Yet some princes have been found hardy enough to violate, though indirectly, the sacred *sirna*. ZALIM SING of Kotah, a zealot in all the observances of religion, had the boldness to draw the line when selfish priestcraft interfered with his police ; and though hê would not demand the culprit, or sacrilegiously drag him from the altar, he has forced him thence by prohibiting the admission of food, and threatening to build up the door of the temple. It was thus the Greeks evaded the laws, and compelled the criminal's surrender by kindling fires around the sanctuary. The towns of KANIYA did not often abuse their privilege ; but the author once had to interpose, where a priest of EKLINGA had harboured a murderer when on the point of being secured. The priest so far respected the wishes of the RANA as to induce the man to quit the asylum : but as the example was pernicious, and Pahona, the town within whose bounds the murder had been committed, had been gained by a forged grant, the author wilfully incurred the award for resuming church land (a sixty-thousand years' residence in hell) and recommended that Pahona (of eight thousand rupees annual revenue) should be reunited to the fisc. The unusual occurrence created a sensation, but it was so indisputably just that not a voice was raised in opposition.

Let us now revert to the endowments of Nat'hdwara. Herodotus furnishes a powerful instance of the estimation in which sacred offerings were held by the nations of antiquity. He observes that these were transmitted from the remotest nations of Scythia to Delos* in Greece ; a range far less extensive than the offerings to the temple (*déwal*) of CRISHNA in Méwar. The spices of the isles of the Indian archipelago ; the balmy spoils of Araby the blest ; the nard, or frankincense of Tartary ; the raisins and pistachios of Persia ;

* Apollo was the object adored in Delos, as at Nat'hdwara. Numerous Greek proper names can have Sanscrit derivations ; and for *Delos* we have *Dewal-es*, *i. e.* "temple of the God." Such is the origin of *Debeil* (corrupted from *Déwal*, the temple), the capital of Lower Sindh. The numerous *Délwars* (sometimes written *Dail*) have the same etymology. *Déwalwara*, *i. e.* "the place of the temple."

every variety of saccharine preparation, from the *sacar-cand* (sugar-candy) of the celestial empire, with which KANIYA sweetens his evening repast, to that more common sort which enters into the *péras* of Mat'hura, the food of his infancy; the shawls of Cashmér, the silks of Bengal, the scarfs of Benares, the brocades of Guzerat,

“ ————— the flower and choice

“ Of many provinces from bound to bound,”

with whatever is rare in art or nature, all contribute to enrich the shrine of NAT'IDWARA. But it is with the votaries of the maritime provinces of India that he has most reason to be satisfied; in the commercial cities of Surat, Cambay, Muscat-mandavi, &c. &c., where the *Múkhiyas*, or comptrollers deputed by the high-priest, reside to collect the benefactions, and transmit them as occasion requires. A deputy resides on the part of the high-priest at Múltan, who invests the distant worshippers of KANIYA with the *zunu* and *canti* (the cordon and necklace). Even from Samarcand the pilgrims repair with their offerings to NAT'IDWARA; and a sum, seldom less than ten thousand rupces, is annually transmitted by the votaries from the Arabian ports of Muscat, Mocha, and Jidda; which contribution is very probably augmented, not only by the votaries who dwell at the mouths of the Wolga,* but by the

* Pallas gives an admirable and evidently faithful account of the worship of CRISHNA and other Hindu divinities in the city of Astracan, where a Hindu mercantile colony is established. They are termed *Múltani*, from the place whence they migrated—Múltan, near the Indus. This class of merchants of the Hindu faith is disseminated over all the countries, from the Indus to the Caspian: and it would have been interesting had the professor given us any account of their period of settlement on the western shore of the Caspian sea. In costume and feature, as represented in the plate given by that author, they have nothing to denote their origin; though their divinities might be seated on any altar on the Ganges. The Múltanis of the “*Indeskoï Dvor, or Indian Court*,” at Astracan, have erected a pantheon, in which CRISHNA, the god of all *Vishnuï* merchants, is seated, *primus inter pares*, in front of JUGGERNAT'H, RAMA, and his brothers, who stand in the back-ground; while SIVA and his consort ASHTA-BHU'JA (*the eight-armed*), form an intermediate line, in which is also placed a statue which Pallas denominates *Múrli*; but Pallas mistook the flute (*múrali*) of the divine CRISHNA for a rod. The principal figure we shall describe in his own words. “In the middle was placed a small idol with a very high bonnet, called *Gupaledshi*. “At its right there was a large black stone, and on the left two smaller ones of the same colour, “brought from the Ganges, and regarded by the Hindus as sacred. These fossils were of the “species called *Sankara*, and appeared to be an impression of a bivalve muscle.” Minute as is the description, our judgment is further aided by the plate. *Gupaledshi* is evidently GOPALJI, the pastoral deity of Vrij (from *gao*, a cow, and *pali*, a herdsman). The head-dress worn by him and all the others, is precisely that still worn by CRISHNA, in the sacred dance at Muttra: and so minute is the delineation, that even the *péra* or sugar-ball is represented, although the

*Samoyede** of Siberia. There is not a petty retailer, professing the VISHNU creed, who does not carry a tythe of his trade to the stores (*Samg'ri*) of KANIYA : and thus caravans of thirty and forty cars, double-yoked, pass twice or thrice annually by the upper road to Nat'hdwara. These pious

Professor appears to have been ignorant of its use, as he does not name it. He has likewise omitted to notice the representation of the sacred mount of Gird'hana, which separates him from the Hindu Jove and the turreted Cybele (*DURGA*), his consort. The black stones are the *Saligramas*, worshipped by all *Vishnuës*.

In the names of "N'HANDIGANA and GORI," though the first is called a lion saddled, and the other a male divinity, we easily recognize NANDA, the bull-*attendant* (*Gana*) of SIVA, and his consort GOURI. Were all travellers to describe what they see with the same accuracy as Pallas, they would confer important obligations on society, and might defy criticism.

It is with heartfelt satisfaction I have to record, from the authority of a gentleman who has dwelt amongst the *Hindikis* of Astracan, that distance from their ancient abodes has not deteriorated their character for uprightness. Mr. Mitchell, from whose knowledge of Oriental languages the Royal Asiatic Society will some day derive benefit, says, that the reputation of these Hindu colonists, of whom there are about five hundred families, stands very high ; and that they bear a preference over all the merchants of other nations settled in this great commercial city.

* Other travellers besides Pallas have described Hinduism as existing in the remote parts of the Russian empire, and if nominal resemblances may be admitted, we would instance the strong analogy between the *Samoyedes* and *Tchoudes* of Siberia and Finland, and the *Sama-Yadús* and *Joudes* of India. The languages of the two former races are said to have a strong affinity, and are classed as *Hindu-Germanic* by M. Klaproth, on whose learned work, "*Asia Polyglotta*," M. Rémusat has given the world an interesting *critique*, in his *Mélanges Asiatiques* (tom. i. p. 267), in which he traces these tribes to Central Asia ; thus approaching the land of the *Gete* or *Yuti*. Now the *Yutis* and *Yadús* have much in their early history to warrant the assertion of more than nominal resemblance. The annals of the *Yadús* of Jessulmér state, that long anterior to VICRAMA, they held dominion from Guzni to Samarcand : that they established themselves in those regions after the *Mahabharat*, or great war ; and were again impelled, on the rise of Islamism, within the Indus. As *Yadús* of the race of SHÁM or SAM (a title of CRISHNA) they would be *Sama-Yadús* ; in like manner as the *B'hatti* tribe are called *Shama-b'hatti*, the *Asham-bétti* of Abulfuzil. The race of *Joude* was existing near the Indus in the Emperor Baber's time, who describes them as occupying the mountainous range in the first Do-áb, the very spot mentioned in the annals of the *Yadús* as their place of halt, on quitting India, twelve centuries before Christ, and thence called *Jadu* or *Yadu-ca-dang*, the "hills of *Jadu* or *Yadu*." The peopling of all these regions, from the Indus to remote Tartary, is attributed to the race of *Ayu* or *Indu*, both signifying the moon, of which are the *Hyas*, *Aswas* (*Asi*), *Yadús*, &c., who spread a common language over all Western Asia. Amongst the few words of *Hindu-Germanic* origin which M. Rémusat gives to prove affinity between the Finnish and Samoyede languages is "*Miel*, *Mod*, dans le dialecte Caucasien, et *Méd*, en Slave," and which, as well as *mead*, the drink of the Scandinavian warrior, is from the Sanscrit *Madhu*, a bee. Hence intoxicating beverage is termed *Madhva*, which supplies another epithet for CRISHNA, *Madhú* or *Madhava*.

bounties are not allowed to moulder in the *bindars* (repositories) of KANIYA ; the apparel is distributed with a liberal hand as the gift of the deity to those who evince their devotion ; and the edibles enter daily into the various food prepared at the shrine. It has been remarked by the celebrated Goguet* that the custom of offering food to the object of divine homage had its origin in a principle of gratitude, the repast being deemed hallowed by presenting the first portion to him who gave it, since the devotee was unable to conceive aught more acceptable than that whereby life is sustained. From the earliest period such offerings have been tendered ; and in the burnt-offering (*hom*) of Abel, of the firstling of the flock, and the first portion of the repast presented by the Rajpút to ANDÉVA† (*the nourisher*), the motive is the same. But the *pursád*—such is the denomination of the food prepared for KANIYA—is deemed unlucky, if not unholy :—a prejudice arising from the heterogeneous sources whence it is supplied—often from bequests of the dead. The *Múkhias* of the temple accordingly carry the sacred food to wheresoever the votaries of KANIYA dwell, which proves an irresistible stimulus to backward zeal, and produces an ample return. At the same time are transmitted, as from the god, dresses of honour corresponding in material and value with the rank of the receiver : a diadem, or fillet of satin and gold, embroidered ; a *dugla* or quilted coat of gold or silver brocade for the cold weather ; a scarf of blue and gold ; or if to one who prizes the gift less for its intrinsic worth than as a mark of special favour, a fragment of the garland worn on some festival by the god ; or a simple necklace (*canti*), the emblem of every follower of VISHNU, and by which he is inaugurated amongst the elect.‡

It has been mentioned that the lands of Méwar appropriated to the shrine of KANIYA are equal in value to a baronial appanage, and, as before observed, there is not a principality in India which does not assign a portion of its domain or revenue to this object. The *Hara* princes of Kotah and Búndi are almost exclusive worshippers of KANIYA, and the regent ZALIM SING is devoted to the maintenance of the dignity of the establishment. Every thing at Kotah appertains to KANIYA. The prince has but the usufruct of the palace, for which £12,000 is annually transmitted to the shrine. The

* *Origin of Laws and Government.*

† Literally “ the giver of food.”

‡ ‘ *Kaniya ca canti band’hna*,’ ‘ to bind on [the neck] the chaplet of KANIYA,’ is the initiator step.”

grand lake east of the town, with all its finny tenants, is under his especial protection ;* and the extensive suburb adjoining, with its rents, lands, and transit duties, all belong to the god. ZALIM SING moreover transmits to the high priest the most valuable shawls, broadcloths, and horses ; and throughout the long period of predatory warfare he maintained two *Néshans*† of a hundred firelocks each, for the protection of the temple. His favourite son also, a child of love, is called GORDHUN-DAS, the ‘slave of GORDHUN,’ one of the many titles of KANIYA. The prince of Marwar went mad from the murder of the high priest of JALINDRA, the epithet given to KANIYA in that state : and the Raja of Sheopúr,‡ the last of the Gorés, lost his sovereignty by abandoning the worship of HUR, for HERI. The ‘slave’ of RADHA (*Radha-ca-das*),§ such was the name of this prince, almost lived in the temple, and used to dance before the statue of KANIYA. Had he upheld the rights of him who wields the trident (*tri-dénta* or *tri-súla*), the tutelary deity of his capital, Siva-púr, instead of the unwarlike divinity whose unpropitious title of RINCHOR|| should never be borne by the martial Rajpút, his fall would have been more dignified, though it could not have been retarded when the overwhelming torrent of the Mahrattas under SINDIA swept Rajwarra.¶

A distinction is made between the grants to the temple and those for the personal use of the pontiff, who affects at least never to apply any portion of the former to his own use, and he can scarcely have occasion to do so ; but when from the stores of Apollo could be purchased the spices of the isles, the fruits of Persia, and the brocades of Guzerat, we may indulge

* I had one day thrown my net into this lake, which abounded with a variety of fish, when my pastime was interrupted by a message from the regent, ZALIM SING : “ Tell Captain Tod that “ Kotah and all around it are at his disposal ; but these fish belong to KANIYA.” I of course immediately desisted, and the fish were returned to the safeguard of the deity.

† A *Néshan*, or standard, is synonymous with a company.

‡ Sheopúr or Siva-púr, the city of SHEO or SIVA, the god of war, whose battle-shout is *Hur* ; and hence one of his epithets, as HERI is that of CRISHNA or KANIYA.

§ RADHA was the name of the chief of the *Gopis* or nymphs of Vrij and the beloved of KANIYA.

|| See note, p. 288.

¶ In October 1807 I rambled through all these countries, then scarcely known by name to us. At that time Sheopúr was independent, and its prince treated me with the greatest hospitality. In 1809 I witnessed its fall, when following with the embassy in the train of the Mahratta leader.

our scepticism and heresy in questioning the reality of such forbearance. This abuse has, however, been modified, and traffic is chased from the temple. The personal grant (Appendix No. XI.) of the *Rana* to the high priest in the old days of Méwar, ought alone to have sufficed for his household expenditure, being £2,500 per annum, equal to £10,000 in Europe. But the ten thousand towns of Méwar (*dos séhés Méwar*), from each of which he levied a crown, now exist only in the old rent-roll, and the heralds of Apollo would in vain attempt to collect their tribute from five thousand villages in the present day.

The Appendix No. XII. being a grant of privileges to a minor shrine of KANIYA, in his character of *múrali-d'hár* or 'flute-player,' contains much information on the minutiae of benefactions, and will afford a good idea of the nature of the revenues of the Hindu Apollo.

The predominance of the mild doctrines of KANIYA over the dark rites of SIVA, is doubtless beneficial to Rajpút society. Were the prevention of female immolation the sole good resulting from their prevalence, that alone would conciliate our partiality: a real worshipper of VISHNU forbids his wife from following him to the pyre, as did recently the Búndi prince. In fact, their tenderness to animal life is carried to nearly as great an excess as with the *Jains*, who shed no blood. Celibacy is not imposed upon the priests of KANIYA, as upon those of SIVA: on the contrary, they are enjoined to marry, and the priestly office is hereditary by descent. Their wives do not burn, but are committed, like themselves, to the earth. They inculcate tenderness towards all beings; though whether this feeling influences the mass, must depend on the soil which receives the seed, for the outward ceremonies of religion cost far less effort than the practice or essentials. I have often smiled at the incessant aspirations of the Macchiavelli of Rajast'han, ZALIM SING, who, while he ejaculated the name of '*Pribhu*' as he told his beads, was inwardly absorbed by mundane affairs; and when one word would have prevented a civil war, and saved his reputation from the stain of disloyalty to his prince, he was, to use his own words, "at four-score years and upwards, laying the foundation for another century of life." And thus it is with the prince of Marwar, who esteems the life of a man or a goat of equal value when prompted by revenge to take it. Hope may silence the reproaches of conscience, and gifts and ceremonies may be supposed to atone for a deviation from the first principle of their religion—a benevolence which should comprehend every animated thing. But for-

fortunately the princely worshippers of KANIYA are few in number. It is to the sons of commerce we must look for the effects of these doctrines, and it is my pride and duty to declare that I have known men of both sects, *Vishnu* and *Jain*, whose integrity was spotless and whose philanthropy was unbounded.

Previously to describing the chief festivals held at Nat'hdwara, and the various forms (*rúpa*) under which *Nat'h-ji* or *the God* is worshipped, it may be well to sketch the origin of this important member of the Oriental Pantheon, the 'Preserver,' of the Hindu Triad.

CRISHNA, HERI, VISHNU, or more familiarly, KANIYA, was of the celebrated tribe of *Yadú*, or *Jadú*. According to Hindu genealogies, *Yadú*, the founder of the "fifty-six tribes,"* who obtained the sovereignty of India, was descended from *Yayat*, the third son of a primeval man called *Swayambhúma Manu*,† or "MANU, lord of the earth," whose daughter ELLA§ (*Terra*) was espoused by BUDDHA (*Mercury*), son of CHANDRA|| (*the moon*), whence the *Yadús* are styled *Chandravansi*, or 'children of the moon.' BUDDHA was therefore worshipped as the great ancestor (*Pitriswara*, or 'father-god') of the lunar race; and previous to the apotheosis of CRISHNA was the common object of devotion with all the *Yadú* tribe. The principal shrine of BUDDHA was at Dwarica, where he yet receives adoration as BUDDHA TRIVICRAMA.¶ CRISHNA or KANIYA lived towards the conclusion of the *Dwapur*, or brazen age, the period of which is calculated to have been about 1100 to 1200 years before Christ.** He was born to the inheritance

* *Chappun cula Yadú.*

† *Qu. Japhet?*

‡ Also called *Vaiva-swata Manú*—"the man, son of the sun."

§ *Ella*, the earth—the Saxon *Ertha*. The Germans chiefly worshipped TUISCO or TEUTATES (*Mercury*) and ERTHA, who are the BUDDHA and ELLA of the *Rajpúts*.

|| A male divinity with the *Rajpúts*, the *Tatars*, and ancient Germans.

¶ 'Triple energy; '—the *Hermes Triplex* of the Egyptians.

** I shall here subjoin an extract of the rise and progress of Vishnúism, as written at my desire by the *Múkhia* of the temple:

"Twenty-five years of the *Dwapur* (the brazen age) were yet unexpired, when the incarnation (*avatar*) of SRI CRISHNA took place. Of these eleven were passed at Gokul (a), and fourteen at Mat'hura. There he used to manifest himself personally, especially at Goverd'hun. But when the *Kaliyúg* (the iron age) commenced he retired to Dwarica, an island separated by the

(a) A small town and island in the *Jumna*, below Mat'hura. Hence one of CRISHNA's titles is GOKUL-NAT'H, "lord of Gokul."

of the land of Vrij, the country of the Súraséni, comprehending the territory round Mat'hura for a space of eighty miles, of which he was unjustly deprived in his infancy by his relative KANSA. From its vicinity to Delhi we may infer, either that there was no lord paramount amongst the *Yadús* of this period, or that CRISHNA's family held as vassals of Hastinápúra, then with Indraprest'ha, or Delhi, the chief seat of *Yadú* power. There were two princes named SÚRASÉN amongst the immediate predecessors of CRISHNA: one, his grandfather, the other eight generations anterior. Which of these was the founder of *Súrapúr* on the Yamuna, the capital of the *Yadús* of Vrij, we know not, but we may fairly assume that the first gave his name to the region around Mat'hura, described by Arrian as the country of the Súraséni. Alexander was in India probably about eight centuries after the deification of CRISHNA, and it is satisfactory to find that the inquiries he instituted into the genealogy of the dynasty then ruling on the Yamúna correspond very closely with those of the *Yadús* of this distant period, and combined with what Arrian says of the origin of the *Pandús*, it appears indisputable that the descendants of this powerful branch of the *Yadús* ruled on the Yamúna, when the Macedonian erected the altars of Greece on the Indus. Arrian enumerates the names of Budæus (Βυδύων) and Cradévas

the ocean from *Bharatkhund* (b), where he passed a hundred years before he went to heaven. In *Samvat* 937 (A.D. 881) God decreed that the Hindu faith should be overturned, and that the *Túrishka* (c) should rule. Then the *jézéya*, or capitation-tax, was inflicted on the head of the Hindu. Their faith also suffered much from the *Jains* and the various infidel (*asúra*) sects which abounded. The *Jains* were so hostile that BRIMHA manifested himself in the shape of SANCARA ACHARYA, who destroyed them and their religion at Benares. In Gúzerat, by their magic, they made the moon appear at *Amavus* (d). SANCARA foretold to its prince, SÍD RAJ (e), the flood then approaching, who escaped in a boat and fled to Thoda, on which occasion all the *Vedyas* (f) (magicians) in that country perished."

(b) The channel which separates the island of Dwarica from the main land is filled up, except in spring-tides. I passed it when it was dry.

(c) We possess no record of the invasion of India in A.D. 881, by the *Túrki* tribes, half a century after Mahmoun's expedition from Zabulist'han against Chitore, in the reign of RAWUL KHOMAN.

(d) The ides of the month, when the moon is obscured.

(e) He ruled *Samvat* 1151 (A.D. 1095) to S. 1201 (A.D. 1145).

(f) Still used as a term of reproach to the *Jains* and *Buddhists*, in which, and other points, as *Ari* (the foe, qu. *Aria* ?), they bear a strong resemblance to the followers of the Arian Zerdusht, or Zoroaster. Amongst other peculiarities, the ancient Persian fire-worshipper, like the present *Jain*, placed a bandage over the mouth while worshipping.

(Κραδύων) amongst the early ancestors of the tribe then in power, which would alone convince us that Alexander had access to the genealogies of the *Púranas*; for we can have little hesitation in affirming these to be BÚDDHA and CROSHTDEVA, ancestors of Crishna; and that "Mathoras and Clisobaras, the chief cities of the Suraséni," are the *Mat'hura* and *Súrpúrá* occupied by the descendants of Surşén, the Suraséni of Arrian. Had the historian afforded as many hints for discussing the analogy between the Hindu and Grecian Apollos as he has for the Hercules of Thebes and India, we might have come to a conclusion that the three chief divinities* of Egypt, Greece, and India, had their altars first erected on the Indus, Ganges, and Jumna.

The earliest objects of adoration in these regions were the sun and moon, whose names designated the two grand races of antiquity, *Surya*, and *Chandra* or *Indu*. BUDDHA (*Mercury*), son of INDU, married ELLA (*Terra*), a grand-child of SURYA, from which union sprung the INDU race. They deified their ancestor BUDDHA, who continued to be the chief object of adoration until CRISHNA: hence it appears that the worship of BAL-NAT'H† and BUDDHA‡ were almost coeval. That the Nomadic tribes of Arabia, as well as those of Tartary and India, adored the same objects, we learn from the earliest writers; and Job, the probable contemporary of HASTI, the founder of the first capital of the *Yadús* on the Ganges, boasts in the midst of his griefs that he had always remained uncorrupted by the Sabeism which surrounded him. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my mouth has kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge, for I should have denied the God that is above."§ That there were many Hindus who, professing a pure monotheism like Job, never kissed the hand either to the Sun (*Surya*), or his herald, Mercury (BUDDHA), we may easily credit from the sublimity of the notions of the 'One God,' expressed both by the ancients and moderns, by poets and by princes, of both races;|| but more especially by the sons of BUDDHA, who for ages bowed not before graven images, and deemed it

* Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo; BALA-RAM, BUDDHA, and KANIYA.

† The 'God Bal,' the Vivifier, the Sun.

‡ BUDDHA signifies 'wisdom.' § Job, ch. xxxi, v. 26, 27, 28.

|| CHAND, the bard, says, after having separately invoked the three persons of the Hindu triad, that he who believes them distinct, "hell will be his portion."

impious to raise a temple to

“ The Spirit in whose honour shrines are weak.”

Hence the *Jains*, a grand sect of the Buddhists, so called from adoring the spirit (*Jin*), were untinged with idolatry until the apotheosis of CRISHNA, whose worship and mysteries superseded Buddhism and the simple worship of NEMANAT'H.* It was probably long anterior to this schism amongst the sons of BUDDHA that the creative power was typified, and his worship degraded under sensual forms, when the pillar rose to BAL or SURYA (*the Vivifier*), in Syria and on the Ganges : and the serpent, “subtlest beast of all the field,” as the emblem of wisdom (BUDDHA), was frequently conjoined with the symbol of the creative power, as at the shrine of EKLINGA, where the brazen serpent is wreathed round the *lingam*.† From the rape of ELLA (daughter of MANU, *the man*, son of the Sun), by BUDDHA, his descendants the *Indús* preserved the Ophite rites‡ as the sign of their race until CRISHNA, whose followers adopted the eagle (*garúda*) as his symbol. Hence the wars of the *Pandús* and *Takshacs* of their ancient epics, typified under the eagles and serpents, the professors of the old and new religion.§ These, with the adorers of SURYA (the

* Of the twenty-four incarnations of BUDDHA, or divine wisdom, NEMA-NAT'H, the twenty-second, was of the same stock (*Yadú*) and family as CRISHNA.

† It was the serpent (BUDDHA) who ravished ELLA, daughter of ICISHWACA, the son of MANU, whence the distinctive epithet of his descendants in the East, *Manús*, or men. An ancient sculptured column in the south of India, evidently points to the primeval mystery. In Portici there is an exact *lingam* entwined with a brazen serpent, brought from the temple of Isis at Pompeii; and many of the same kind, in mosaic, decorate the floors of the dwelling-houses. But the most singular coincidence is in the wreath of *Lingams* and the *Yoni* over the door of the minor temple of Isis at Pompeii; and on another front is painted the rape of Venus by Mercury (BUDDHA and ELLA). The lunar race, according to the *Purans*, are the issue of the rape of ELLA by BUDDHA.

‡ *Aphak* is a serpent in Hebrew. *Ahé* and *Serp* are two of its many appellations in Sanscrit.

§ The *Mahabharat* records constant wars from ancient times amongst the children of Surya (the sun) and the *Tak* or *Takshac* (serpent) races. The horse of the sun, liberated preparatory to sacrifice, by the father of RAMA, was seized by the *Takshac Anunta*; and JANMÉJA, king of Dehli, grandson of PANDU, was killed by one of the same race. In both instances, the *Takshac* is literally rendered the *snake*.

The successor of JANMÉJA carried war into the seats of this *Ták*, or serpent race, and is said to have sacrificed 20,000 of them in revenge; but although it is specifically stated that he subsequently compelled them to sign tributary engagements (*paénameh*), the Brahmans have nevertheless distorted a plain historical fact by a literal and puerile interpretation.

The

sun) form the three idolatrous classes of India, not confined to its modern restricted definition, but that of antiquity, when *Indu-st'han*, or Indu-Scythia, extended from the Ganges to the Caspian. In support of the position that the existing polytheism was unknown on the rise of Vishnuism, we may state, that in none of the ancient genealogies do the names of such deities appear as proper names in society, a practice now common; and it is even recorded that the rites of magic, the worship of the host of heaven, and of idols, were introduced from Cashmér, between the periods of CRISHNA and VICRAMA. The powers of nature were personified, and each quality, mental and physical, had its emblem, which the Brahmans taught the ignorant to adopt as realities, till the pantheon became so crowded that life would be too short to acquire even the nomenclature of their "thirty-three millions of gods."* No object was too high or too base; from the glorious Orb to the paring-knife (*Rampi*) of the shoemaker. In illustration of the increase of polytheism, I shall, by and bye, describe the "seven forms" (*sat'h-rúpa*) under which CRISHNA is worshipped, whose statues are established in the various capitals of Rajast'han, and are occasionally brought together at the festival of *Ancúta* at Nat'hdwara.

The international wars of the *Suryas* and the *Yadu* races are described in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat*, though lost between allegory and literal interpretation. The *Suryas*, or *Saivás*, were depressed; and the *Indús*, who counted "fifty-six" grand tribes, under the particular appellations of *Takshac* (serpent), *Aswa* (horse), *Sassu* (hare), &c. &c., and collectively *Indu*, had paramount sway. CRISHNA's schism produced a new type, that of the eagle, and the wars of the schismatics were depicted under their respective emblems, the eagle and serpent, of which latter most probably were the *Cúrús*, the political adversaries of the *Pandús*, who were the

The *Parætacæ* (*Mountain-Tak*) of Alexander were doubtless of this race, as was his ally TAXILES, which appellation was titular, as he was called Omphis till his father's death.

TAXILES may be compounded of *es*, lord or chief, *sila*, rock or mountain, and *Tak*,—"lord of the mountain Tak," whose capital was in the range west of the Indus. We are indebted to the Emperor Baber for the exact position of the capital of this celebrated race, which he passed in his route of conquest. We have, however, an intermediate notice of it between Alexander and Baber, in the early history of the *Yadu Bhatti*, who came in conflict with the *Taks* on their expulsion from Zabulist'han and settlement in the Punjáb.

* *Tyntees crore devata.*

relatives of CRISHNA. The allegory of CRISHNA's eagle pursuing the serpent (BUDDHA), and recovering the books of science and religion with which he fled, is an important historical fact disguised: namely, that of CRISHNA incorporating the doctrines redeemed from BUDDHA after the expulsion of the Buddhists from India. Dare we further attempt to lift the veil from this mystery, and seek in the seat of the redemption of lost science or *wisdom* (BUDDHA), its original source? * The gulf of Kutch, the point where the serpent attempted to escape, has been from time immemorial to the present day, the entrepôt for the commerce of Sofala, the Red Sea, Egypt, and Arabia. There BUDDHA TRIVICRAMA, or Mercury, has been and is yet invoked by the Indian mariners, especially the pirates of Dwarica. Did BUDDHA or Mercury come from, or escape to the Nile? Is he the *Hermes* of Egypt to whom the "four books of science," the *Védas*† of the Hindus, were sacred? The representative of BUDDHA at the period of CRISHNA was NEMA-NAT'H; he is of a black complexion,‡ with full lips, and his statues exactly resemble in feature the bust of young Memnon. His symbol is the snake.

I have already observed that CRISHNA, before his deification, worshipped BUDDHA; and his temple at *Dwarica* rose over the ancient shrine of the latter, which yet stands. In an inscription from the cave of Gaya their characters are conjoined, "*Heri who is Buddha.*" According to western mythology, Apollo and Mercury exchanged symbols, the *caduceus* for the *lyre*: so likewise in India their characters intermingle; and even the *Saivá* propitiates HERI-CRISHNA as the mediator and disposer of the 'divine spark' (*jote*) on its re-union with the "parent flame:" and thus, like Mercury, he may be said to be the conveyer of the souls of the dead. Accordingly in funereal lamentation his name only is invoked, and *Heri-bol! Heri-bol!* is emphatically pronounced by those conveying the corpse to its final abode.

The *vahan* (*qu.* the Saxon *van*?) or celestial car of CRISHNA, in which the souls (*ansa*) of the just are conveyed to *Surya-Mandal*, the mansion of the

* In this peninsula and the adjacent continent was the cradle of Buddhism, and here are three of the 'five' sacred mounts of their faith, *i. e.* *Girnar*, *Satrúnja*, and *Abu*. The author purposes giving, hereafter, an account of his journey through these classic regions.

† The Buddhists and Jains are stigmatized as *Védyavan*, which signifying 'possessed of science,' is interpreted 'magician.'

‡ Hence called *Arishta-Nemi*, 'the black Nemi.'

sun, is painted like himself, blue, and with the eagle's head; and here he partakes both of the Mercury of the Greeks and of *Oulios*, the Preserver or Saviour, one of the titles of Apollo at Delos.

The Tatar nations, who are all of *Indu* race, like the Rajpúts (and German tribes), adored the moon (*Indu*) as a male divinity, and to his son, BUDDHA, they assign the same character of mediator. The serpent is alike the symbol of the Búddha of the Hindus, the Hermes of the Egyptians, and the Mercury of Greece: and the allegory of the *dragon's teeth*, the origin of letters, brought by Cadmus from Egypt, is a version of the Hindu fable of KANIYA (Apollo) wresting the *Védas* (*secrets*) from BUDDHA or wisdom (*Hermes*), under his sign, the serpent or dragon. We might still further elucidate the resemblance, and by an analysis of the titles and attributes of CRISHNA, the Hindu Apollo, prove that from the *Yamuna* may have been supplied the various incarnations (*avatars*) of this divinity which peopled the pantheons of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. As NOMIOS, who attended the herds of Admetus, we have NONITA, the infantine appellation of KANIYA, when he pastured the kine of Cesava in the woods of Vindra, whence the ceremony of the sons of princes assuming the crook, and on particular days tending the flocks. When I heard the octogenarian ruler of Kotah ask his grandson, "BAPPA-LAL, have you been tending the cows to-day?" my surprise was converted into pleasure on the origin of the custom being thus classically explained. As MÚRÁLI-DHARA, or the 'flute-holder,' KANIYA is the god of music; and in giving him the shepherd's reed instead of the *vina* or lyre, we may conjecture that the simple *bhans* (bamboo) which formed the first flute (*bhansli*) was in use before the *chatara*,* the Grecian *cythara*,† the first invented lyre of Apollo. Thus from the *six-wired* instrument of the Hindus we have the Greek *cythara*, and the Spanish *guitar* of modern days. The

* From *cha*, six; and *tar*, a string or wire.

† Strabo says, the Greeks consider music as originating from Thrace and Asia, of which countries were Orpheus, Muscus, &c., and that others "qui regardent toute l'Asie jusqu'à l'Inde comme un pays consacré à Dionysius, rapportent à cette contrée l'invention de presque toutes les parties de la musique. Nous les voyons tantôt qualifier la *Cythare* d'Asiatique, tantôt donner aux flutes les épithètes de Phrygiennes. Les noms de certains instrumens, tels que *Nablas* ou *Nabla* et d'autres encore, sont tirés des langues barbares." This *Nabla* of Strabo is possibly the *Tabla*, the small tabor of India. If Strabo took his orthography from the Persian or Arabic, a single point would constitute the difference between the *N* (ن) and the *T* (ت).

Greeks, following the Egyptians, had but six notes, with their lettered symbols; and it was reserved for the Italians to add a seventh. Guido Arétine, a monk in the thirteenth century, has the credit of this. I however believe the Hindus numbered their's from the heavenly bodies—the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—hence they had the regular octave, with its semitones: and as, in the pruriency of their fancy, they converted the ascending and descending notes into *grāhas*, or planetary bodies, so they may have added them to the harmonious numbers, and produced the *no-ragini*, their *nine* modes of music.*

Could we affirm that the hymns composed and set to music by JYDÉVA, nearly three thousand years ago, and yet chaunted in honour of the Apollo of Vrij, had been handed down with the sentiments of these mystic compositions (and Sir W. Jones sanctions the idea), we should say from their simplicity, that the musicians of that age had only the diatonic scale; but we have every reason to believe, from the very elaborate character of their written music, which is painful and almost discordant to the ear from its minuteness of subdivision, that they had also the chromatic scale, said to have been invented by Timotheus in the time of Alexander, who might have carried it from the banks of the Indus, then peopled with the worshippers of CRISHNA. In the mystic dance called the *Ras-mandala*, yet imitated on the annual festival sacred to the Hindu Apollo, CRISHNA is represented with a radiant crown, his legs crossed in a dancing attitude, playing on the *mītrali* or flute, to the nymphs encircling him, who all hold musical instruments. Each nymph represents a passion (*rasa*): hence the *no-rasa*, or 'nine passions,' excited by the powers of harmony. These nymphs are also called the *no-ragini*, from *rdga*, a mode of song over which each presides. May we not in this trace the origin of Apollo and the sacred nine? In the

* An account of the state of musical science amongst the Hindus of early ages, and a comparison between it and that of Europe, is yet a desideratum in Oriental literature. From what we already know of the science, it appears to have attained a theoretical precision yet unknown to Europe, and that, at a period when even Greece was little removed from barbarism. The inspirations of the bards of the first ages were all set to music; and the children of the most powerful potentates of both races (*Surya* and *Chandra*) sang the episodes of the great epics of VALMIKA and VYASU. There is a distinguished member of our Society, and perhaps the only one, who could fill up this *hiatus*; and we may hope that the leisure and inclination of the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley will tempt him to enlighten us on this most interesting point.

manner described above, the *ras-mandal* is sculptured in *alto-relievo* in the vaulted temples dedicated to the god,* or in secular edifices by way of ornament; as in the triumphal column of Chítore. On the festival of the *Jenem*, or 'birth-day,' there is a scenic representation of KANIYA and the *Gopis* (Apollo and the muses): when are rehearsed in the mellifluous accents of the Ionic land of Vrij, the songs of JYDÉVA, as addressed by KANIYA to RADHA and the *Gopis*. A specimen of these, as translated by that elegant scholar Sir W. Jones, may not be considered inappropriate here.

I have had occasion to remark elsewhere† that the Rajpút bards, like the heroic Scalds of the north, lose no opportunity of lauding themselves; and JYDÉVA, the bard of the *Yadús*, has set an eminent example of this in the opening of "the songs of GOVINDA."

"If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of HERI, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of Jydeva, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant."

The poet opens the first interview of CRISHNA and RADHA with an animated description of a night in the rainy season, in which HERI is represented as a wanderer, and RADHA, daughter of the shepherd NANDA, is sent to offer him shelter in their cot. NANDA thus speaks to RADHA: "The firmament is obscured by clouds; the woodlands are black with *Tamdla* trees; that youth who roves in the forest will be fearful in the gloom of night; go, my daughter, bring the wanderer home to my rustic mansion. Such was the command of NANDA the herdsman, and hence arose the love of RADHA and MADHAVA."‡

The poet proceeds to apostrophize HERI, which the Hindu bard terms *rúpaca*, or "personal description:"

"O THOU who reclinest on the bosom of ĆAMALA, whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers, thou, from whom the day-star derived his effulgence, who slewest the venom-

* I have often been struck with a characteristic analogy in the sculptures of the most ancient Saxon cathedrals in England and on the Continent, to KANIYA and the *Gopis*. Both may be intended to represent divine harmony. Did the Asi and Jits of Scandinavia, the ancestors of the Saxons, bring them from Asia?

† *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 146.

‡ *Madhu* in the dialect of Vrij.

“ breathing CALIYA, who beamedst like a sun on the tribe of *Yadu*, that
 “ flourished like a lotus ; thou, who sittest on the plumage of *GARURA*, who
 “ sippest nectar from the radiant lips of *PÉDMA*, as the fluttering *Chacora*
 “ drinks the moon-beams ; be victorious, O *HERI* !”

JYDÉVA then introduces *HERI* in the society of the pastoral nymphs of *Vrij*, whom he groups with admirable skill, expressing the passion by which each is animated towards the youthful prince with great warmth and elegance of diction. But *RADHA*, indignant that he should divide with them the affection she deemed exclusively her own, flies his presence. *HERI*, repentant and alarmed, now searches the forest for his beloved, giving vent at each step to an impassioned grief. “ Woe is me ! she feels a sense of injured honour, “ and has departed in wrath. How will she conduct herself ? How will she “ express her pain in so long a separation ? What is wealth to me ? What “ are numerous attendants ? What the pleasures of the world ? How can “ I invite thee to return ? Grant me but a sight of thee, oh ! lovely *RADHA*, “ for my passion torments me. O God of love ! mistake me not for *SIVA*. “ Wound me not again. I love already but too passionately ; yet have I “ lost my beloved. Brace not thy bow, thou conqueror of the world ! “ My heart is already pierced by arrows from *RADHA*’s eyes, black and “ keen as those of the antelope.”

RADHA relents and sends a damsel in quest of *HERI*, whom she finds in a solitary arbour on the banks of the *Yamuna*. She describes her mistress as animated by the same despair which controls him :

“ Her face is like a water lily veiled in the dew of tears, and her eyes
 “ are as moons eclipsed. She draws thy picture and worships it, and at the
 “ close of every sentence exclaims, ‘ O *MADHAVA*, at thy feet am I fallen !’
 “ Then she figures thee standing before her : she sighs, she smiles,
 “ she mourns, she weeps. Her abode, the forest—herself through thy
 “ absence is become a timid roe, and love is the tiger who springs on her
 “ like *YAMA*, the genius of death. So emaciated is her beautiful body,
 “ that even the light garland which waves o’er her bosom is a load. The
 “ palm of her hand supports her aching temple, motionless as the crescent
 “ rising at eve. Thus, O divine healer, by the nectar of thy love must
 “ *RADHA* be restored to health ; and if thou refusest, thy heart must be
 “ harder than the thunder-stone.”*

* We meet with various little philosophical phenomena used as similes in this rhapsody of *Jydeva*. These *aërolites*, mentioned by a poet the contemporary of David and Solomon, are but recently known to the European philosopher.

The damsel returns to RADHA and reports the condition of HERI, mourning her absence: "Even the hum of the bee distracts him. Misery sits fixed in his heart, and every returning night adds anguish to anguish." She then recommends RADHA to seek him. "Delay not, O, loveliest of women; follow the lord of thy heart. Having bound his locks with forest flowers, he hastens to yon arbour, where a soft gale breathes over the banks of Yamuna, and there pronouncing thy name *he modulates his divine reed*. Leave behind thee, O friend, the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle when thou sportest in the dance. Cast over thee thy azure mantle and run to the shady bower."

But RADHA, too weak to move, is thus reported to HERI by the same fair mediator. "She looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach: she advances a few steps and falls languid to the ground. She weaves bracelets of fresh leaves, and looking at herself in sport, exclaims, behold the vanquisher of MADHA! Then she repeats the name of HERI, and catching at a dark blue cloud,* strives to embrace it, saying, 'It is my beloved who approaches.'"

Midnight arrives, but neither HERI nor the damsel returns, when she gives herself up to the frenzy of despair, exclaiming: "the perfidy of my friend rends my heart. Bring disease and death, O gale of MALAYA! Receive me in thy azure wave, O sister of YAMA,† that the ardour of my heart may be allayed."

The repentant HERI at length returns, and in speech well calculated to win forgiveness, thus pleads his pardon.

"Oh! grant me a draught of honey from the lotus of thy mouth: or if thou art inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thine eyes; make thy arms my chains; thou art my ornament; thou art the pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth! Thine eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become through thy resentment like petals of the crimson lotus! Thy silence affects me; oh! speak with the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay my ardour."

"RADHA with timid joy, darting her eyes on GOVINDA, while she musically sounded the rings of her ancles and *the bells of her zone*,‡ entered

* This is in allusion to the colour of CRISHNA, a dark blue.

† The Indian Pluto; she is addressing the Yamuna.

‡ Thus the ancient statues do not present merely the sculptor's fancy in the zone of bells with which they are ornamented.

“ the mystic bower of her beloved. His heart was agitated by her sight,
 “ as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb.* From his grace-
 “ ful waist flowed a pale yellow robe, which resembled the golden dust of
 “ the water-lily scattered over its blue petals.† His locks interwoven with
 “ blossoms were like a cloud variegated by the moon-beam. Tears of
 “ transport gushed in a stream from the full eyes of RADHA, and their
 “ watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which had
 “ before taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed,‡ and
 “ departed when the fawn-eyed RADHA gazed on the bright face of
 “ CRISHNA.”

The deified *Yadu* is now all tenderness and affection : and the poet proceeds to describe Apollo's bower on the sable Yamuna, in language equally impassioned with that of the first of modern bards ; as “ Love's recess,” where, “ he who has loved not, here would learn that lore,” and like him the Hindu sanctifies it as

————— “ The ground
 “ Where early Love his Psyche's zone unbound.”§

In the morning the blue god aids in RADHA's simple toilet. He stains her eye with antimony “ which would make the blackest bee envious,” places “ a circle of musk on her forehead,” and intertwines “ a chaplet of flowers and peacock's feathers in her dark tresses,” replacing “ the zone of golden bells.”

The bard concludes as he commenced, with an eulogium on the inspirations of his muse, which it is evident were set to music. “ Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, let the happy and wise learn from the songs of JYDÉVA.”

To return from this digression. This mystic dance, the *Ras-mandal*,

* This is a favourite metaphor with the bards of India, to describe the alternations of the exciting causes of love : and it is yet more important as shewing that JYDÉVA was the philosopher as well as the poet of nature, in making the action of the moon upon the tides the basis of this beautiful simile.

† It will be again necessary to call to mind the colour of Crishna, to appreciate this elegant metaphor.

‡ This idea is quite new.

§ Childe Harold, Canto III.

appears analagous to the Pyrric or *fire-dance* of the Egyptians. The movements of those who personate the deity and his fair companions are full of grace, and the dialogue is replete with harmony.* The *Chobist*† of Mat'hura and Vindravana have considerable reputation as vocalists; and the effect of the well modulated deep tones of the adult blending with the clear treble of the juvenile performers, while the time is marked by the cymbal or the soothing monotony of the tabor, occasionally mingled with the *múrali* or flute, is very pleasing.

We may even find a Parnassus for KANIYA in *Girdhana*, from which sacred hill he derives one of his principal epithets, GIRDHAN or GORDHUN-NÁT'H, 'God of the mount of wealth.' Here he first gave proofs of miraculous power, and a cave in this hill was the first shrine on his apotheosis, whence his miracles and oracles were made known to the *Yadús*. From this cave (*Gop'ha*) is another of his titles—*Gop'h'nat'h*, 'Lord of the cave,' distinct from his epithet GÖPI-NÁT'H, 'Lord of the *Gopis*,' or pastoral nymphs. On the annual festival held at Girdhana, the sacred mount is purified with copious oblations of milk, for which all the cows of the district are in requisition.

The worship of CRISHNA in ancient days, like that of Apollo amongst the Greeks, was chiefly celebrated in caves, of which there were many scattered over India. The most remarkable were those of Girdhana in Vrij; Gaya in Bahar; *Gop'h-nat'h* on the shores of Saurashtra; and Jalindra‡ on the Indus. In these dark and mysterious retreats superstition had her full influence over the votaries who sought the commands of the deity, and desired to appease him; but as the *Múkhia* told the author, "the age of

* The anniversary of the birth of KANIYA is celebrated with splendour at Sindia's court, where the author frequently witnessed it, during a ten years' residence.

† The priests of KANIYA, probably so called from the *chob* or club with which, on the annual festival, they assault the castle of KANSA, the tyrant usurper of CRISHNA's birthright, who, like Herod, ordered the slaughter of all the youth of Vrij, that CRISHNA might not escape. These *Chobii* are most likely the *Sobii* of Alexander, who occupied the chief towns of the Punjáb, and who, according to Arrian, worshipped the Hercules (*Heri-cu-les*, qu. *Herakles* ?) chief of the race of HÉRÆ, and were armed with clubs. The mimic assault of KANSA's castle by some hundreds of these robust church militants, with their long clubs covered with iron rings, is well worth seeing.

‡ Jalindra on the Indus is described by the Emperor Baber as a very singular spot, having numerous caves. The deity of the caves of Jalindra is the tutelary deity of the Prince of Marwar

oracles and miracles is past ;” and even the new wheel that was miraculously applied each revolving year to supply the place of that which first indicated CRISHNA’s desire to abide at Nat’hdwara, is no longer furnished. The old one which was the signal of his wish, is, however, preserved as a holy relic, and held in great reverence. The statue now worshipped at Nat’hdwara as the representative of “ the god of the mount,” is said to be the identical image first raised to CRISHNA in the cave of Girdhana, and brought thence by the high priest BALBA ACHARYA.

As the destroyer of KALI-NAG, ‘ the *black* serpent,’ which infested the waters of the Yamuna, KANIYA has the character of the Pythic Apollo. He is represented dragging the monster from the ‘ black stream’ (*Kali-Yamuna*), and bruising him with his foot. CRISHNA had however many battles with his hydra foe ere he vanquished him, and he was once driven by KAL-YAMUN from Vrij to Dwarica, whence his title of RINCHOR, as “ abandoning the fight.” Here we have the old allegory of the schismatic wars of the Buddhists and Vishnués.

Diodorus informs us that *Kan* was one of the titles of the Egyptian Apollo ; and this is the common contraction for KANIYA. The colour of the Hindu Apollo is a dark cerulean blue (*nila*) : hence he is occasionally called NILA-NAT’H, ‘ the blue god,’ as well as SHAM-NAT’H, ‘ the black god,’ and he is invariably represented with the lotus in his hand ; and like the Apollo of the Nile, KANIYA is depicted with the human form and eagle-head, one of the common hieroglyphic deities of Egypt.

SHAM-NAT’H and SHI-NAT’H, the black divinity, are the commonest epithets of CRISHNA, which name likewise means ‘ black.’ It is curious that his cotemporary and relative NÉM-NAT’H, the twenty-second high priest of BUDDHA, was also designated from his black colour, *Arisht Nemi* : are we to bring both from the Nile, or to send them there from the Indus ? *S* and *H* are permutable letters in the Bhakka, and SÁM or SHAM, the god of the Yamuna, may be the *Ham* or Hammon of Egypt. The most marked resemblances may be traced between the *Ramésa* of Ayodhia, and the *Rameses* of Egypt ; and HERI, the Indian Apollo, accompanied RAMÉSA to Lanka, as did the Egyptian Apollo, Raméses, Sesostris on his expedition to India. The Hindu RAMÉSA in all the mythological paintings is of the same blue colour as CRISHNA ; both were attended in their expedition by an army of Satyrs, or tribes bearing the names of different animals : and as we have the *Aswas*, the *Takshacs*, and the *Sassus* of the *Yadu* tribes, typified under

the horse, the serpent, and the hare, so, the race of *Surya*, of which RAMA was the head, may have designated their tribes the *Rishi*, *Hanuman*, &c., bears and monkeys. Whether RAMESSES found his way from the Nile to the Ganges, or whether RAMESA found his LANKA on the shores of the Red Sea, we can but conjecture. The Hindu scorns the idea that the rock Ceylon was the abode of RAMA's enemy. The distance of the Nile from the Indian shore forms no objection to the surmise; the sail that spread for Ceylon could waft to the Red Sea, which the fleets of Tyre, of Solomon, and Hiram covered about this very time. That the Hindus navigated the ocean from the earliest ages, the traces of their religion in the isles of the Indian archipelago sufficiently attest.

The coincidence between the most common epithets of the Apollos of Greece and India, as applied to the sun, are peculiarly striking. HERI is also called BHAN-NAT'H, 'the lord of beams,' or Phœbus, and his heaven is *Heripûr* (Heliopolis), or 'city of HERI.* Helios (Ἡλῖος) was a title of Apollo, whence the Greeks had their Elysium (Ἠλύσιος), the Heripûr or *Bhan-i'han*, 'the abode of the sun,' the highest of the heavens or abodes of bliss of the martial Rajpût. Hence the eagle is a fit emblem of HERI as the sun.†

The *Dîv Majores* of the Rajpût are the same in number and title as amongst the Greeks and Romans, being the deities who figuratively preside over the planetary system. Their grades of bliss are therefore in unison with the eccentricity of orbit of the planet named. On this account CHANDRA or INDU, the moon, being a mere satellite of ELLA, the earth, though probably originating the name of the *Indu* race, is inferior in the scale of blissful abodes to that of his son BUDDHA or Mercury, whose heliacal

* "In Hebrew *hars* signifies the sun, but in Arabic the meaning of the radical word is to guard, preserve; and of *haris*, guardian, preserver."—*Volney's Ruins of Empires*, p. 316.

† The heaven of *Vishnu*, called *Vaicûnt'ha*, is entirely of gold, and 80,000 miles in circumference. Its edifices, pillars, and ornaments, are composed of precious stones. The crystal waters of the Ganges form a river in Vaicûnt'ha, where are lakes filled with blue, red, and white water-lilies, each of a hundred and even a thousand petals. On a throne glorious as the meridian sun, resting on water-lilies, is VISHNÚ, with LACSHMI or *Sri*, the goddess of abundance (the Ceres of the Egyptians and Greeks), on his right hand, surrounded by spirits who constantly celebrate the praise of VISHNÚ and LACSHMI, who are served by his votaries, and to whom the eagle (*garuda*) is door-keeper.—Extract from the *Mahabharat*.—See Ward on the History and Religion of the Hindus, vol. ii. p. 14.

appearance gave him importance even with the sons of VAIVA (*Vaivaswata*) the sun. From the poetic seers of the martial races we learn that there are two distinct places of reward: the one essentially spiritual, the other of a material nature. The bard inculcates that the warrior who falls in battle in the fulfilment of his duty, "who abandons life through the wave of steel," will know no "second birth," but that the unconfined spark (*jote*) will reunite to the parent orb. The doctrine of transmigration through a variety of hideous forms, may be considered as a series of purgatories.

The Greeks and Celts worshipped Apollo under the title of Carneios, which "selon le scholiaste de Théocrite" is derived from Carnos, "qui ne prophétisoit que des malheurs aux Héraclides lors de leur incursion dans le Péloponnèse. Un d'eux appelé *Hippotés*, le tua d'un coup de flèche." Now one of the titles of HERI, the Hindu Apollo, is CÁRANÁ, 'the radiant:' from *Carana*, 'a ray' (of the sun). When HERI-CRISHNA led the remains of the *Pandu Hericúlás* in company with the Hindu Hercules, BALDÉVA (the 'god of strength'), and YUDISHTRA, after the great international war (*bharat*) with the *Cúrús*, into the Peloponnesus of Saurashtra, they were attacked by the aboriginal occupants, the Bhills, *one of whom slew the divine CÁRANÁ with an arrow*. The Bhills claim to be of *Hyvansa*, or the race of *Hya*, whose chief seat was at Mahéswar on the Nerbudda: the assassin of CÁRANÁ would consequently be *Hipúla*, or descendant (*púta*) of *Hya*.*

The most celebrated of the monuments commonly termed Druidic, scattered throughout Europe, is at Carnac in Brittany, on which coast the Celtic Apollo had his shrines, and was propitiated under the title of Carneus; and this monument may be considered at once sacred to the manes of the warriors and the sun-god Carneus. Thus the Roman Saturnalia, the carnival, has a better etymology in the festival to Carneus, as the sun, than in the "adieu to flesh" during the fast. The character of this festival is entirely oriental, and accompanied with the licentiousness which belonged to the celebration of the powers of nature. Even now, although Christianity has banished the grosser forms, it partakes more of a Pagan than a Christian ceremony.

* Supposing these coincidences in the fabulous history of the ancient nations of Greece and Asia to be merely fortuitous, they must excite interest; but conjoined with various others in the history of the *Hericúlás* of India and the *Heraclidæ* of Greece, I cannot resist the idea that they were connected, and that RAMESA, HERI, BUDDHA, and YUDISHTRA, &c. &c. were conquerors or hierarchs deified.

Apollo, besides being honoured as a deity presiding over the healing art, was especially invoked by the Greeks in epidemic disorders; and the shrines of CRISHNA were thronged with votaries beseeching him to avert that scourge, emphatically called *marri*, or death; the *cholera*, yet raging in India.

But I have trespassed too long with these analogies, and must proceed to describe some of the chief festivals of the Apollo of Nat'hdwara, of which the anniversary of his birth (*Jenem*), the *Jhul-jhúlni*, or swinging on the water, and the *Ancúta* are the most remarkable. The latter, as the more imposing of the three, may satisfy curiosity. On this occasion the seven forms or statues (*sat'h-rúpa*) of HERI-CRISHNA are brought together from the different capitals of Rajast'han, when mountains (*cúta*) of food (*an*) are piled up for their repast, and at a given signal attacked and levelled by the myriads of votaries assembled from all parts.

About eighty years ago, on a memorable assemblage at the *Ancúta*, before warfare had devastated Rajast'han and circumscribed the means of the faithful disciples of HERI, amongst the multitude of *Vishnués* of every region were almost all the Rajpút princes; RANA URSI of Méwar, RAJA BÍJY SING of Marwar, RAJA GUJ SING of Bikanér, and BLHADÚR SING of Kishengurh. RANA URSI presented to the god a *tora*, or massive golden anklet-chain set with emeralds: BÍJY SING a diamond necklace worth 25,000 rupees: the other princes according to their means. They were followed by an old woman of Surat with infirm step and shaking head, who deposited four coppers in the hand of the high-priest, which were received with a gracious smile, not vouchsafed to the lords of the earth. "The Ránd is in luck," whispered the chief of Kishengurh to the RANA. Soon afterwards the statue of HERI was brought forth, when the same old woman placed at its feet a bill of exchange for 70,000 rupees (35,000 crowns). The mighty were humbled, and the smile of the *Gosaén* was explained. Such gifts, and to a yet greater amount are, or were, far from uncommon from the sons of commerce, who are only known to belong to the flock from the distinguishing necklace (*canti*) of the sect.*

That predatory system which reduced these countries to a state of the most degraded anarchy, greatly diminished the number of pilgrimages to

* Gibbon records a similar offering of 200,000 sesterces to the Roman church, by a stranger, in the reign of Decius.

Nat'hdwara; and the gods of Vrij had sufficient prescience to know that they could guard neither their priests nor followers from the Pat'han and Mahratta, to whom the crown (*múkta*) of the god, and the *nutna* (nose-jewel) of RADHA would be alike acceptable: nor would they have scrupled to retain both the deities and priests as hostages for such imposition as they might deem within their means. Accordingly, of late years, there had been no congress of the gods of Vrij, who remained fixtures on their altars, till the halcyon days of A.D. 1818 permitted their liberation.*

The *Sat'h-rúpa*, or *seven statues* of KANIYA, are the forms he assumed in the *Ras-mandala*, or mystic dance, with RADHA and the *Gopis*. BALBA ACHARYA, the high-priest of CRISHNA, first collected these, and having brought them together established the festival of the *Ancúta*. The different images remained in the same sanctuary, or at least under one supreme head, until the time of GIRDHARÍ, the grandson of BALBA, who having seven sons, gave to each a *rúpa*, and their descendants continue in the office of priest. The names and present abodes of the gods are as follows :

NAT'H-JI, *the god*, or GORDAN-NAT'H, god of the mount.....Nat'hdwara.

-
- | | |
|----------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. NOŃITA | Nat'hdwara. |
| 2. MAT'HURA NAT'H | Kotah. |
| 3. DWAR-CA NAT'H | Kankerowli. |
| 4. GOKUL-NAT'H, or GOKUL CHANDRAMA ... | Jeipúr. |
| 5. YADU-NAT'H | Surat. |
| 6. VITUL-NAT'H | Kotah. |
| 7. MUDHUN MOHUNA | Jeipúr. |

These names are derived either from some peculiar attribute or from the original seat of the shrine. *The god, Nat'h-ji*, is not enumerated amongst the forms; he stands supreme over all.

† I enjoyed no small degree of favour with the supreme pontiff of the shrine of Apollo and all his votaries, for effecting a meeting of the seven statues of VISHNU. In contriving this, I had not only to reconcile ancient animosities between the priests of the different shrines, in order to obtain a free passport for the gods, but to pledge myself to the princes in whose capitals they were established, for their safe return: for they dreaded lest bribery might entice the priests to fix them elsewhere, which would have involved their loss of sanctity, dignity, and prosperity. It cost me no little trouble, and still more anxiety, to keep the assembled multitudes at peace with each other, for they are as outrageous as any sectarians in contesting the supreme power and worth of their respective forms (*rúpa*). Yet they all separated not only without violence, but without even any attempt at robbery, so common on those occasions.

NONITA, or NONANDA, is the juvenile KANIYA, who has his altar separate, though close to NAT'H-JI. He is also styled BALA-MOKUND, 'the blessed child,' and is depicted as an infant with a *péra* * or comfit ball in his hand. This image, which was one of the *penates* of a former age, and which, since the destruction of the shrines of CRISHNA by the Islamites, had lain in the Yamuna, attached itself to the sacerdotal zone (*zunu*) of the high priest BALBA, while he was performing his ablutions, who, carrying it home, placed it in a niche of the temple and worshipped it: and NONANDA yet receives the peculiar homage of the high-priest (a lineal descendant of BALBA) and his family as their household divinity. Of the second image, MAT'HURA NAT'H, there is no particular mention; it was at one time at Kamnorh in Méwar, but is now at Kotah.

It has been stated that each of the seven sons of the high-priest had an image of the god intrusted to him. These sons had all appellations appertaining to the deity; and BALCRISHNA, the third son, had DWAR-CA NAT'H made over to his keeping. This statue, now at Kankerowli in Méwar, is asserted to be the identical image which received the adoration of RAJA UMRÍKA, a prince of the solar race who lived in the *Satya Yuga*, or silver age. The 'god of the mount' (GIRD'HAN NATH) revealed himself in a dream to his high-priest, and told him of the domicile of this his representative at Kanouj. Thither BALBA repaired, and having obtained it from the *Brahman*, appointed DAMODUR-DAS KHETRI to officiate at his altar, on whose death it reverted to BALBA. This image like the rest is only a duplicate of the divinity, the original being in the *Saurashtra* peninsula.

The fourth statue, that of GOKUL-NAT'H, or GOKUL CHANDRAMA (*i. e.* the moon of GOKUL), had an equally mysterious origin, having been discovered in a deep ravine on the banks of the river; BALBA assigned it to his brother-in-law. Gokul is an island on the Jumna, a few miles below Mat'hura, and celebrated in the early history of the pastoral divinity. The possession of this image by *Jáya-púr* does not deprive the little island of its honours as a place of pilgrimage; for the 'god of Gokul' has an altar on the original site, and his rites are performed by an aged priestess, who disowns the jurisdiction of the high-priest of Nat'hdwara, both in the spiritual and temporal concerns of her shrine; and who, to the no small scandal of all

* The *péra* of Mat'hura can only be made from the waters of the Yamuna, from whence it is yet conveyed to NONANDA at Nat'hdwara, and with curds forms his evening repast

who are interested in Apollo, appealed from the fiat of the high-priest to the British *adawlut*, or court of justice. The royal grants of the Mogul emperors were produced, which proved the right to lay in the high-priest, though a long period of almost undisturbed authority had created a feeling of independent control in the family of the priestess, which they desired might continue. A compromise ensued, when the author was instrumental in restoring harmony to the shrines of Apollo.

The fifth, YADU-NAT'H, "God of the *Yadus*," is the deified ancestor of CRISHNA and the whole *Yadu* race. This image, now at Surat, formerly adorned the shrine of MAHAVAN near Mat'hura, which was destroyed by MAHMUD.

The sixth, VITUL-NAT'H, or PANDURANG, was found in the Ganges at Benares, *Samvat* 1572, from which we may judge of their habit of multiplying divinities.

The seventh, MUDHUN MOHUNA, "he who intoxicates with desire," the seductive lover of RADHA and the *Gopis*, has his rites performed by a female. The present priestess of MOHUNA is the mother of DAMODRA, the supreme head of all who adore the Apollo of Vrij.

I am not aware of the precise period of BALBA ACHARYA, who thus collected and distributed the seven images of CRISHNA now in Rajast'han; but he must have lived about the time of the last of the LODI kings, at the period of the conquest of India by the Moguls. The present pontiff, DAMODRA, as before said, is his lineal descendant; and whether in addressing him verbally or by letter, he is styled *Maharaja* or 'great prince.' "*Gosāden-jī Maharaja*" is his common epithet. *Gosāden* is a title more applicable to the *célibataire* worshippers of HARI than of HERI—of Jupiter than of Apollo; signifying one who has obtained a mastery over his passions. It is alleged that the Emperor Akber first bestowed this epithet on the high priest of CRISHNA, whose rites attracted his regard. They were previously called "*Dikhil*," "one who performs sacrifice," a name given to a very numerous class of Brahmans.

The *Gotra Acharya* or genealogical creed of the high priest is as follows: "*TYLUNG Brahmin, Bhardhwaja gotra,* Gúra-cúla,† Tyturi sac'ha; i.e. Brah-*

* *Bhardhwaja* was a celebrated founder of a sect in the early ages.

† *Gúra* is an epithet applied to VRISHPATI, "Lord of the Bull," the Indian Jupiter, who is called the *Gúra*, preceptor or guardian of the gods.

man of Telingana, of the tribe of Bhardhwaja, of the race of Gúr, of the branch Tyturi.* As the supreme head of the VISHNU sect his person is held to be *Ansa*, or “a portion of the divinity;” and it is maintained that so late as the father of the present incumbent, Apollo manifested himself and conversed with the high priest. The present pontiff is now about thirty years of age. He is of a benign aspect, with much dignity of demeanour: courteous, yet conscious of the homage due to his high calling: meek, as becomes the priest of GOVINDA, yet with the finished manners of one accustomed to the first society. His features are finely moulded, and his complexion good. He is about the middle size, though as he rises to no mortal, I could not exactly judge of his height. When I saw him he had one only daughter, to whom he is much attached. He has but one wife, nor does CRISHNA allow polygamy to his priest, and what is yet more natural, he has interdicted suttees. In times of danger the high priest of Apollo, like some of his prototypes in the dark ages of Europe, poised the lance, and found it more effective than spiritual anathemas, against those who would first adore the god, and then plunder him. Such were the Mahratta chiefs, JESSWUNT RAO HOLKAR and BAPU SINDIA. DAMODRA accordingly made the tour of his extensive diocese at the head of four hundred horse, two standards of foot, and two field-pieces. He rode the finest mares in the country; laid aside his pontificals and the “yellow mantle,”† for the quilted *dugla*, and was summoned to matins by the kettle-drum instead of the bell and cymbal. In this he only imitated “the black god,” SHAMNAT’H, who often mixed in the ranks of battle, and “dyed his saffron robe in the red-stained field.” Had DAMODRA been captured on one of these occasions by any marauding Pat’han, and incarcerated, as he assuredly would have been, for ransom, the marauder might have replied to the RANA, as did the Plantagenet king to the Pope when the surrender of the captive church-militant bishop was demanded, “Is this thy son Joseph’s coat?” But, notwithstanding this display of martial principle, which covered with a helmet the shaven crown, his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable, and he furnishes a striking contrast to the late head of the VISHNU establishments in Marwar, who commenced with the care of his master’s conscience, and ended with that of the

* I am not aware of the import of *Tyturi*.

† Hence his epithet *Pitumbra*, under which he is worshipped by the RANA. Synonymous with this is the name of *Pandurang*, by which he is chiefly known in the Dekhan; from *Pandu*, yellow ocre, and *rang*, colour.

state ; meek and unassuming till he added temporal* to spiritual power, which developed illimited pride, with all the qualities that too often wait on “ a little brief authority,” and to the display of which he fell a victim. DAMODRA,† similarly circumstanced, might have evinced the same failings, and have met the same end ; but though endeavours were made to give him political influence at the *Rana's* court, yet, partly from his own good sense, and partly though the dissuasion of the Nestor of Kotah, he was not entrained in the vortex of its intrigues, which would have involved the sacrifice of wealth and the proper dignity of his station.

* The high priest of Jalindra-nat'h used to appear at the head of a cavalcade far more numerous than any feudal lord of Marwar. A sketch of this personage will appear elsewhere. These Brahmans were not a jot behind the ecclesiastical lords of the middle ages, who are thus characterized :—“ Les seigneurs ecclésiastiques, malgré l'humilité chrétienne ne se sont pas montrés moins orgueilleux que les nobles laïcs. Le doyen du chapitre de Notre Dame du Port, à Clermont, pour montrer sa grande noblesse, officiait avec toute la pompe féodale. Etant à l'autel, il avait l'oiseau sur la perche gauche, et on portait devant lui la hallebarde ; on la lui portait aussi de la même manière pendant qu'on chantait l'évangile, et aux processions il avait lui-même l'oiseau sur le poing, et il marchait à la tête de ses serviteurs, menant ses chiens de chasse.” —*Dict. de l'Anc. Régime*, p. 380.

† The first letter I received on reaching England after my long residence in India was from this priest, filled with anxious expressions for my health, and speedy return to protect the lands and sacred kine of Apollo.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Grant of the Rahtore Rani, the Queen-Mother of Udiptur, on the death of her Son, the Heir-Apparent, Prince UMRA.

SID SRI BURRA* *Rahtor-ji* to the *Patéls* and inhabitants of *Giroh*. The four *bigahs* of land, belonging to the JAT ROGGA, have been assigned to the Brahman KISHNA on the *Anta Samya* (final epoch) of *Lalji*.† *Let him possess the rents thereof.*‡ The dues for

* The *great Rahtore* queen. There were two of this tribe ; she was the queen-mother.

† An endearing epithet, applied to children, from *larla*, beloved.

‡ It is customary to call these grants to religious orders “ grants of land,” although they entitle only the rents thereof ; for there is no *seizin* of the land itself, as numerous inscriptions testify, and which,

wood and forage (*khur lákur*) contributions (*burár*) are renounced by the state in favour of the Brahmans.

Sámvat 1875 Amavus, 15th of Ásoj, A.D. 1819.

No. II.

Grant held by a Brahman of Birkhairah.

“ A Brahman’s orphan was compelled by hunger to seek sustenance in driving an oil-mill; instead of oil the receptacle was filled with blood. The frightened oilman demanded of the child who he was: ‘ A Brahman’s orphan,’ was the reply. Alarmed at the enormity of his guilt in thus employing the son of a priest, *he covered the palm of his hand with earth, in which he sowed the túlast seed*, and went on a pilgrimage to Dwarica. He demanded the presence (*dursuna*) of the god; the priests pointed to the ocean, when he plunged in, and had an interview with DWARICA NAT’H, who presented him with a written order on the *Rana* for forty-five *bíghas* of land. He returned and threw the writing before the *Rana*, on the steps of the temple of Juggernat’h. The *Rana* read the writing of the god, placed it on his head, and immediately made out the grant. This is three hundred and fifty years ago, as recorded by an inscription on stone, and his descendant, KOSHALA, yet enjoys it.”

(A true Translation.)

J. Tod.

No. III.

The Palode inscription is unfortunately mislaid; but in searching for it, another was discovered from Unair, four miles south-west of the ancient Morwan, where there is a temple to the four-armed divinity (CHATHURBHUJA), endowed in *Samvat 1570* by *Rana JUGGUT SING*.

On one of the pillars of the temple is inscribed a voluntary gift made in *Samvat 1845*, and signed by the village *Panch*, of the first-fruits of the harvest, *viz. two sírs and a-half* (five pounds weight) from each *khal** of the spring, and the same of the autumnal harvests.

as well as the present, prove the proprietary right to be in the cultivator only. The *tamba-patra*, (*a*) or copper-plate *patent* (by which such grants are properly designated) of YASÓVARMA, the *Pramara* prince of Ujayani, seven hundred years ago, is good evidence that the rents only are granted; he commands the crown tenants of the two villages assigned to the temple “ *to pay all dues as they arise—money-rent—first share of produce*,” not a word of *seizin* of the soil.—See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 223.

(*a*) To distinguish them from grants of land to *feudal tenants*, which patents (*putta*) are manuscript.

* A *khal* is one of the heaps after the corn is thrashed out, about *five maunds*.

No. IV.

SRI UMRA SING (II.) &c. &c.

Whereas the shrine of SRI PRATAP-ISWARA (*the God of Fortune*) has been erected in the meadows of Rasmi, all the groves and trees are sacred to him: whoever cuts down any of them is an offender to the state, and shall pay a fine of three hundred rupees, and the *ass* * shall be the portion of the officers of government who suffer it.

Pos. 14, Samvat 1712.

No. V.

MAHRANA SRI RAJ SING, commanding.

To the Nobles, Ministers, Patéls,† Putwaris,† of the ten thousand [villages] of Méwar (*dos sehés Méwar-ra*), according to your stations—read!

1. From remote times the temples and dwellings of the *Jains* have been authorized; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter—this is their ancient privilege.

2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (*amra*).‡

3. Traitors to the state, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (*sirna*) to the dwellings (*upasrá*) § of the *Yatis*,|| shall not there be seized by the servants of the court.

4. The *kúncí*¶ (handful) at harvest, the *múti* (handful) of *Kerano*h—the charity lands (*doli*), grounds, and houses, established by them in the various towns, shall be maintained.

5. This ordinance is issued in consequence of the representation of the *Ric*** MANOH, to whom is granted fifteen *bigahs* of *adhán* †† land, and twenty-five of *malaiti*.†† The same quantity of each kind in each of the districts of Nimutch and Nimbahaira,—total in the three districts, forty-five *bigahs* of *adhán*, and seventy-five of *mál*.††

On seeing this ordinance, let the land be measured and assigned, and let none molest

* The *gadda-ghát* is a punishment unknown to any but the Hindu code; the hieroglyphic import appears on the pillar, and must be seen to be understood.

† Revenue officers.

‡ Literally immortal, from *mura*, death, and the privative prefix.

§ Schools or colleges of the *Yatis*.

|| Priests of the *Jains*.

¶ *Kúncí* and *múti* are both a handful: the first is applied to grain in the stalk at harvest time; the other to such edibles in merchandize as sugar, raisins, &c. collectively termed *kerano*h.

** *Ric* is an ancient title applied to the highest class of priests; *Ric-Ricsha-Ric-iswára*, to royalty in old times. I leave to antiquarians the derivation of this terminating syllable of the Gothic kings, the Alarics, Chilperics, Theodorics, &c.

†† *Adhán*, is the richest land, laying under the protection of the town walls: *mal* or *malaiti* land, is land not irrigated from wells.

‡‡ In all a hundred and twenty *bigahs*, or about forty acres.

the *Yatis*, but foster their privileges. Cursed be he who infringes them—the *cow* to the Hindu—the *hog* and *corpse* to the Musulman.

(By command.)
Samvat 1749, *Mahsud* 5th.

SAH DYAL, (Minister.)

No. VI.

MAHARAJA CHUTTUR SING (one of the *Rana's* sons), commanding.

In the town of Rasmí, whoever slays sheep, buffaloes, goats, or other living thing, is a criminal to the state; his house, cattle, and effects shall be forfeited, and himself expelled the village.

(By command.)
Pos Sud 14, *Samvat* 1705.

The *Pancholi* DUMICA DAS.

No. VII.

MAHRANA JAY SING to the inhabitants of Bakrole; printers, potters, oilmen, &c. &c., commanding.

From the 11th *Asar* (June) to the full moon of *Asoj* (September) none shall drain the waters of the lake; no oil-mill shall work, or earthen vessel be made, during these the four rainy months.

No. VIII.

MAHRANA SRI JUGGUT SING II., commanding.

The village of Siarh in the hills, of one thousand rupees yearly rent, having been chosen by NATHJI (*the God*) for his residence, and given up by RINNA RAGHUDÉ,* I have confirmed it. The *Gosaén†* and his heirs shall enjoy it for ever.

Samvat 1793.

No. IX.

SID SRI MAHARAJA DHERAJ, MAHRANA SRI BHÍM SING-JI, commanding. The under-mentioned towns and villages were presented to SRI-JÍ‡ by copper plate. The revenues, (*hasil*)§ contributions, (*burar*) taxes, dues (*lagut-bé-lagut*), trees, shrubs, *foundations* and

* The chief of Délwara.

† There are other grants later than this, which prove that all grants were renewed in every new reign. This grant also proves that no chief has the power to alienate without his sovereign's sanction.

‡ Epithet indicative of greatness (of the deity).

§ Here is another proof that the sovereign can only alienate the revenues (*hasil*), and though every thing upon and about the grant, yet *not the soil*. The *nim-tím* is almost as powerful an expression as the old grant to the Rawdons :—

“ From earth to heaven
“ From heaven to hell,
“ For thee and thine
“ Therein to dwell.”

boundaries (*nīm sīm*) shall all belong to SRI-JI. If of my seed, none will ever dispute this.

The ancient copper-plate being lost, I have thus renewed it.

Here follows a list of *thirty-four* entire towns and villages, many from the fisc; or confirmations of the grants of the chiefs, besides various parcels of arable land, from twenty to one hundred and fifty *bigahs*, in forty-six more villages, from chiefs of every class, and patches of meadow-land (*bīra*) in twenty more.

No. X.

SRI MAHRANA BHÍMA SING-JI, commanding.

To the towns of SRI-JI, or to the [*personal*] lands of the *Gosaén-jī*,* no molestation shall be offered. No warrants or exactions shall be issued or levied upon them. All complaints, suits, or matters in which justice is required, originating in Nath'dwara, shall be settled there; none shall interfere therein, and the decisions of the *Gosaén-jī* I shall invariably confirm. The town and transit duties† (of Nath'dwara and villages pertaining thereto), the assay (*purkhāye*)† fees from the public markets; duties on precious metals (*kasoti*),† all brokerage (*dulali*), and dues collected at the four gates; all contributions and taxes of whatever kind, are presented as an offering to SRI-JI; let the income thereof be placed in SRI-JI's coffers.

All the products of foreign countries imported by the *Vaishnuvas*,‡ whether domestic or foreign, and intended for consumption at Nath'dwara,§ shall be exempt from duties. The right of sanctuary (*sirna*) of SRI-JI, both in the town and in all his other villages,|| will be maintained: the Almighty will take cognizance of any innovation. Wherefore, let all chiefs, farmers of duties, beware of molesting the goods of NATH-JI (*the God*), and wherever such may halt, let guards be provided for their security, and let each chief convey them through his bounds in safety. If of my blood, or if my servants, this warrant will be obeyed for ever and for ever. Whoever resumes this grant will be a caterpillar in hell during 60,000 years.

By command—through the chief butler (*Panairi*) EKLINGDAS: written by SURUT SING, son of NATHJI PANCHOLI, *Mah-sud* 1st, *Samvat* 1865; A.D. 1809.

* The high priest.

† All these are royalties, and the *Rana* was much blamed, even by his *Vishnuva* ministers, for sacrificing them even to KANIYA.

‡ Followers of VISHNU, CRISHNA, or KANIYA, chiefly mercantile.

§ Many merchants, by the connivance of the conductors of the caravans of Apollo's goods, contrived to smuggle their goods to Nath'dwara, and to the disgrace of the high priest or his underlings, this traffic was sold for their personal advantage. It was a delicate thing to search these caravans, or to prevent the loss to the state from the evasion of the duties. The *Rana* durst not interfere, lest he might incur the penalty of his own anathemas. The author's influence with the high priest put a stop to this.

|| This extent of sanctuary is an innovation of the present *Rana's*, with many others equally unwise.

No. XI.

Personal grant to the high priest, DAMODURJI *Mahraj*.

SWESTA SRI, from the abode at Udyapúr, MAHRANA SRI BHÍM SING-JI, commanding.

To all the chieftains, landholders, managers of the crown and *dori** lands, to all *Patels*, &c. &c. &c. As an offering to the *Sri Gosaen-ji* two rupees have been granted in every village throughout *Méwar*, one in each harvest—let no opposition be made thereto. If of my kin or issue, none will revoke this—the *án* (oath of allegiance) be upon his head. By command, through PURIHARA MYARAM, *Samvat* 1860, *Jaet sud* 5th *Mungulwar*.

At one side of the patent in the *Rana's* own hand, “an offering to SRI GIRDHARI-JI† *Mahraj*—if of my issue none will disobey—who dares, may the Almighty punish.”

No. XII.

MAHRANA BHÍM SING, commanding.

To the *Mindra* (*minister*) of SRI MURLI MUNOHUR (flute-delighting) situated on the dam of the lake at Mandelgurh, the following grant has been made, with all the dues, income, and privileges, *viz.*

1. The hamlet called Kotwal-khéra, with all thereto appertaining.
2. Three rupees worth of saffron monthly from the transit duty *chábútra*.
3. From the police office of Mandelgurh :
Three tunics (*bagha*) for the idol on each festival, *viz.* *Ushtumí*, *Jul-jatra* and *Vassunt Panchama*.
Five rupees worth of oil‡ on the *Jul-jatra*, and two and a half in the full moon of *Kartik*.
4. Both gardens under the dam of the lake, with all the fruits and flowers thereof.
5. The *Inch§* on all the vegetables appertaining to the prince.
6. *Kúnchi* and *dalali*, or the handful at harvest and all brokerage.
7. The income arising from the sale of the estates are to be applied to the repairs of the temple and dam.

Megsir Sud 1, *Samvat* 1866.

* Lands for the queens or others of the immediate household.

† Father of the present high priest, DAMODURJI.

‡ Amongst the items of the Chartulary of Dumfermline, is the tythe of the oil of the Greenland whale fisheries.

§ A handful of every basket of vegetables sold in the public markets.

XVI. *An Account of some Sculptures in the Cave Temples of Ellora. By Captain ROBERT MELVILLE GRINDLAY, M.R.A.S. Accompanied by Plates.*

Read Dec. 6, 1828.

THE accompanying drawings of some of the sculptures in the cave temples of Ellora were made in the year 1813; since which time, until very recently, they have been in the possession of the Honourable Lady Hood (now Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie), for whom they were executed: and I have availed myself of that lady's permission to make them public through the medium of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The superiority of these sculptures is universally acknowledged by all who have visited these stupendous excavations, as well as their antiquity over perhaps any other building now existing in India.

The magnificence of design, the justness of proportion, and the surpassing richness of ornament displayed in these shrines, have been already too well described by Mr. Erskine* to require any further mention here.

The four drawings represent the following subjects:

No. 1. MĀHĀDĒVA, DACSHA, and NANDA.

No. 2. BHADRA, or VĪRA BHADRA.

No. 3. JAYAD RATHA, called also DYTĀSUR SIVA. SIVA having obtained the chariot of SURYA, or the sun, is in pursuit of the demon TRIPURA.

No. 4. BHAIRAVA or BHYRU.

It may be proper to remark, that these figures are as nearly as possible fac-similes of the outlines made on the spot with the most scrupulous regard to accuracy of form and proportion, by a hand too unpractised to lend either embellishment or correction to the objects portrayed.

These figures will probably be received as evidence that the art of sculpture formerly existed in India in a much higher state of perfection

* In the first volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society.

than is generally supposed; and this assumption is further confirmed by an arm from one of the colossal figures at Elephanta, now in the possession of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. M.P., which is considered by artists to indicate a highly refined taste in sculpture.

The figures, as well as the ornamental sculpture at Ellora, are, however, of superior execution to those at Elephanta.

XVII. *Remarks on certain Sculptures in the Cave Temples of Ellora.* By
Lieut.-Colonel JAMES TOD, M.R.A.S.

Read Dec. 6, 1828.

It being deemed desirable that some explanation should accompany the interesting drawings, particularized in the preceding article on ancient Hindu sculptures from the *Cave Temples of Ellora*, made by Captain Grindlay, I hasten to fulfil the wishes of the council.

There are two modes by which they might receive illustration : one, supposing them to contain an astronomical allusion, as suggested by Dr. B. G. BABINGTON; the other, from an allegory in the Hindu theogonies. A knowledge of the relative position of these sculptures in the Cave Temple would materially influence my decision on this point, as regards the two plates to which I shall chiefly confine my observations, *viz.* one, (No. 1) which I designate “The Fable of DACSHA PRAJAPÁTI, or MÁHÁDÉVA, DACSHA, and NANDA;” the other (No. 2) VÍRA-BHADRA.” If these sculptures are contiguous to each other in the cave, then I have no doubt they represent the fable of the sacrifice of SATI, the consort of MÁHÁDÉVA, and the formation of the giant VÍRA-BHADRA, to revenge her death by that of DACSHA : though even this allegory may possibly conceal an astronomical period.

Let us first pay due attention to Dr. BABINGTON’s suggestion, that the central figure with a bird “may represent the planet MARS (*Carticeya*) with his peacock, or MERCURY (*Búddha*) with his eagle, or SATURN (*Sani*) with his raven; and that the personage placed between the two signs of the Zodiac, MÉSHA or the *Ram* and VRISHABHA the *Bull*, may have allusion to some particular position of the heavens.”

We have a right to assume that the cave-worship of the Hindús had the same origin as among the ancient Persians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks, and that these caves were consecrated to rites whose bases were astronomical; and it is fair to infer that this worship originated amongst the Hindús, not confined to India proper, but from remote Scythia, embracing the caves

of Bamian, of Jalindra, of Gaya, of Gwalior, of Dhumrâr, of Ellora, and of Elephanta. "ZOROASTER" (says Volney* quoting Eusebius) "was the first who, having fixed upon a cavern pleasantly situated in the mountains adjacent to Persia, formed the idea of consecrating it to MITHRA (the Sun), the creator and father of all things; and having made in this cavern several geometrical divisions representing the seasons and the elements, he imitated on a small scale the order and disposition of the universe by MITHRA. In these caves they celebrated mysteries, which consisted in imitating the motion of the stars, the planets, and the heavens. The initiated took the names of constellations and assumed the figures of animals. One was a lion, another a raven, and a third a ram. Hence the use of masks in the first representation of the drama; of this nature were the mysteries of CERES." But Volney will not allow ZOROASTER the honour of the invention, which he says is due to the Egyptians, of which the caverns of Thebes, full of similar pictures, afford proof.

There is a powerful analogy, both architectural and mythological, between the cave temples of Ellora and Elephanta, and Elephantine in Egypt, where certain emblematic figures appear to have the same character as those under discussion. "At Elephantine (says Volney, still quoting Eusebius) they worshipped the figure of a man in a sitting posture, painted blue, having the head of a ram and the horns of a goat which encompassed a disc: all of which represented the sun's and moon's conjunction in the sign of the ram: the blue colour denoting the power of the moon at the period of junction to raise water into clouds."

I have little doubt that the central figure is MĀHĀDĒVA, the creative power: and that he sometimes represents the *solar deity*, we have the best proof in seeing his monolithic emblem in the sun-temples of the ancient sun-worshippers (SAURAS, the Σῦρόν of Strabo) of *Saurashtra*, where he is called BĀL-NĀTH, BĀL-CÉSĀR,† BĀL-PŪRA, MĀHĀDĒVA. As emblematic of the sun, and placed between the celestial signs *Aries* and *Taurus*, which these ram-headed and bull-headed figures represent, MĀHĀDĒVA may designate the position of the sun in the Zodiac when these sculptures were executed. I shall leave to others the task of calculating the precession of the equinoxes,

* *Vide* "Ruins of Empires."

† In this word we should find the origin of the Persian crest, the *Lion and Sun*; *Bāl* being the type of the sun, as in Bālbec (the *sun-idol*) of Syria, and *Césâr* a lion.

so as to elicit the period, if such is meant to be designated. Volney says, the vernal equinox coincided with the first degree of *Aries* 2504 years, and with the first degree of *Taurus* 4619 years, before Christ.

The Egyptians supposed the Sun to assume the forms of the animals represented in the zodiac; and such is not improbably the origin of the Hindú Avataras,* an idea supported by Volney, who says: "The *eagle* of VISHNÚ is but one of the thousand emblems of the sun, and his incarnations in a *fish*, *boar*, *lion*, and *turtle*, nothing more than the metamorphosis of the same star, which, passing successively through the signs of the twelve animals, was supposed to assume these forms."

We will now quit this speculation and proceed to the legend of the sacrifice of SÁTI and metamorphosis of DACSHA. I give it on the authority of CHAND, the last of the great bards of India, who has incorporated numerous episodes from ancient mythologies.

DACSHA *Prajapáti*† was a prince of the *Satya Yuga*: his daughter SÁTI was married to MÁHÁDÉVA, who having offended his father-in-law, he chose to omit inviting him to attend a grand sacrifice, at which all the gods and demons (*Dyts*) were present. SÁTI, from the summit of Kailás beholding the assemblage, requested permission to repair thither. SIVA (*Máhdéva*) expostulated on the indelicacy of proceeding to her father's abode uninvited; but yielded to her earnest desire, giving her his own charger NANDA (*Taurus*), on which she joined the assembly. But her family paid the consort of SIVA no attention, and portions of the sacred food were placed before the whole, absent and present, excepting only her lord. Anger so excited the faithful SÁTI at this disrespect to SIVA, that fire issued from her body, and she was consumed in the self-created flame.‡ The infuriated NANDA destroyed the sacrifice, and returning to Kailás, related to MÁHÁDÉVA the death of his spouse. In affliction MÁHÁDÉVA cut off his lock§ (*ju'tha*) and threw it on the earth, from which the giant VÍRA-BHADRA was born, who revenged the death of SÁTI by the decollation of DACSHA. The gods and demons who had assembled to partake of the hospitable rites, implored of MÁHÁDÉVA|| that

* It may be objected to this, that there are not so many *Avataras* as zodiacal signs.

† PRAJA-PA'TI, lord of creatures.

‡ This is the origin of the immolation of females, and of the term *sati* (vulg. *suttee*).

§ In all ages, cutting off the lock appears to have been a sign of grief.

|| Here we see the junction of the powers of life and death.

he would restore DACSHA to life. The father of the gods cut off the head of a goat, which he placed on the headless body of DACSHA, who instantly started up and began to bleat like a goat, at which MĀHĀDĒVA was delighted and laughed immoderately; commanding, to commemorate the event, that his votaries should bleat like a goat.*

In this legend we have all the characters necessary to explain these two fragments of antique sculpture; MĀHĀDĒVA, the tauriform NANDA, and the goat-headed DACSHA. The bird which MĀHĀDĒVA feeds out of his cup,† formed of a human skull, is probably the *Sarus*,‡ sacred to him, and emblematic of conjugal affection,—consequently alluding to the recent sacrifice of SĀTI.

In the compartment representing VĪRA-BHADRA, where a naked female figure is in the distance, we probably have allusion to the regeneration of the faithful SĀTI (a story precisely the counterpart of that of ATYS and CYBELE), who again appeared, and was wedded to SĪVA, as the fascinating mountain-nymph MÉRA, daughter of HEMACHIL.

This curious fable of the origin of the Hindu PAN, or DACSHA *Praja-pāti*, has considerable affinity to the *Priapus* of the Greeks and Romans, even in name, and still more to what Herodotus relates of the Theban JUPITER, to whom throughout the Mendesian territory goats were sacred, and sheep sacrificed; and it will strike the Orientalist as a singular coincidence, that the word (*mendes*) from which this Egyptian JUPITER was designated (from rams being offered to him) should be Sanscrit, in which language *mendā* is ram. Herodotus thus explains its origin:§ “Jupiter cut off the head of a ram, and covering himself with the skin, shewed him-

* This is accordingly done, the cheeks are inflated, and beaten by the hands (*gāl bajaônā*) to resemble the bleating of a goat.

† Termed in the dialects *cupra*, and with which, as the God of war (HUR), he drinks the blood of the slain, in which he is exactly the Scandinavian Thor.

‡ The Phenicopteros. These birds are always in pairs, and afford continual metaphors to the Hindu poet when describing domestic affection.

§ Herodotus says, *Mendes* is alike the name of Pan and a Goat. *Mendā* is a ram in Sanscrit, and the ram-headed divinity in the caves of Ellora is termed MÉND-ĪSWARA, or RAM-GOD. The statue of *Priapus* was degraded into the scare-crow TERMINUS, as a land-mark, or territorial boundary, by the Romans. In Rajpūtana we have the *ass* depicted on boundary-stones; and the *gadha-ghāl* to whosoever removes the land-mark, has a penal allusion, probably equally obscene with that of the god Terminus, of the Romans.

self in that form to Hercules. Hence the Egyptians represent the statue of Jupiter with the head of a ram; and in the annual festival they kill a ram, and placing its skin on the image of the god, they introduce before it a figure of Hercules: the assembly afterwards beat the ram."—*Euterpe*. 42.

CHAND the bard introduces the birth of VIRA-BHADRA from the lock of SIVA's hair, quite incidentally, but with great poetic skill; and as it affords, at the same time, an historic record of some moment, I may be excused introducing it to enliven a dull mythological speculation.

To the last great struggle which the Hindu emperor of Dehli maintained against the arms of Islám, we owe this legend. The *Chohan* king PRITHI-RÁJÁ preparing to repel the invasion of SHAHBUDÍN, assembles all his forces at the *Chogán* or *champ de Mars*, on a plain beyond the walls of the capital, where he takes a muster of his vassals. The ceremony is converted into a day of rejoicing, on the emperor having released from confinement, at the desire of his brother-in-law SAMARSI of Chitore, a celebrated leader called CHAOND-RAÉ, who is distinguished both by the Hindu and Mahomedan writers for his conspicuous gallantry in the grand and final battle fought for Rajpút independence on the banks of the Caggar.

CHAOND-RAÉ *Dahima* was lord of BIANA, which house produced *three* of the *one hundred and eight* great vassal chiefs or *Samants* of PRITHI-RAJA. Besides the honours his gallantry had obtained him for the reduction of Tutta and Bamanwási in the valley of the Indus, his consequence was increased by the heir-apparent of Dehli, prince RAINASI, being his sister's child. But all his services were forgotten on his putting to death HAR-SÉN-GÁR,* the favourite elephant of his sovereign, and though the act was in self-defence, his limbs were dishonoured with fetters: a proceeding which, with other follies consequent to the *enlèvement* of the princess of Canouj, had very nearly produced the deposal of PRITHI-RAJA, which proposition was formally discussed in a convention of the chief citizens of Dehli, in which even the speeches of the leading men are preserved by the Bard. The conciliation and liberation of CHAOND-RAÉ prevented this, and the elevation of RAINASI.

The Bard describes the chivalry of the *Chohan* performing their evolutions, while the instruments of music, the martial *Nakkáds* and trumpets made the welkin ring: but in the midst of this clangor and mutual greeting,

* 'The ornament of Hari.'

the imperial band, which was placed on a mass of rock over a cavern, was disconcerted by a tremulous motion of the rock, followed by its dislocation and their precipitation into the cavern. All assembled round the cave, indulging in speculation on the cause; which, while one attributed it to an earthquake, and another "to the writhing of SEHÉS NAGA,"* a third discovered in a huge monster lying in a state of torpor. Afraid to approach, they entangled him in coils of rope, and dragged him to light; when, having at length succeeded in awakening him, they desire the prophetic Bard (CHAND TRÍ-CÁLA) to interrogate him, and after a description of the giant which casts into shade all that was ever written on these sons of CÆLUS and TERRA,† the following dialogue ensues.

Chand.—"Who art thou? whence, and who thy parents? why make this thy dwelling place?"

"When at the sacrifice of DACHSA PRAJAPATI, SÁTI was consumed in the self-kindled flame and NANDA destroyed the sacrifice, dread seized the three worlds; *Kailas* ‡ shook, *Kampila* trembled; Gods, demons, and men were struck with affright at the work of destruction caused by the infuriate NANDA. At the loss of SÁTI, MÁHÁDÉVA cut off his *ju'tha* and threw it on the earth. From this *lock* (*ju'tha*) I had my birth. My name VÍRA-BHADRA, my father§ TRÍPÚRARI. In the *Satya-yuga* I was called SANCARA; in the *Tréti-yuga*, BÁL; in the *Dwápara-yuga*, SEHL, when I fostered mankind and religion. Then contented I reposed in *Yoginipúra*; and now in the *Kál-yúga*, my name is KÁL (*Time*). My repose has been disturbed by the uproar of mortals. What has caused the din?"

Chand.—"Oh mighty lord, such a tumult has not been heard since INDRA fought BRETÁSÚRÁ, or since RÁMA destroyed the abode of RAVANA: such a din has not been heard since the battle of the *Pandús*, or when JARASAND'HA met the *Yadavas* in fight. This din is raised by the *Samants* of Dehli assembled to oppose the *King of the north*, and rejoicing for the release of the *Dáhimá*, CHAOND-RAK."

* The serpent which supports the globe on its head.

† Scripture terms the giants, *Zumzumín*; to which a mixed Sanscrit and Persian etymology could be given, in *Jenem*, birth, and *Zumín*, earth.

‡ JUPITER OLYMPUS (*Kailas*), and TERRA, are thus made the parents of the *Dytes* (*Titans*).

§ My father (TAUT'H)—, the universal father; probably the TOTM of the *Egyptians*, and the TEUTATES of the *German* races.—BUDDHA, father of the lunar race, is likewise TAUT'H.

TIME is indignant at being awoke from the repose of ages, by so inadequate a cause as the approaching struggle for the empire of Hindust'han, between the *Chohans* and the *Ghorians*, and treats the *bard* of Bhavani with but little respect. He gives vent to his indignation in the measure of verse called a *Cdvita*.

"These are but mortals; the Gods engaged in fight have I beheld. Between SERINDRA and TARIKA I saw the combat: in the war of *Lanka* I was present: in that of *Magad-désa*, in the time of MANDHATA: that of the lofty DURYODHANA and ARJÚNA I witnessed. O Bard of the double-tongue, *these* were battles!"

Chand.—"You are a God; in the combats of Gods and Titans (*Dyte*) you have mingled, but those of the high-minded warriors of the *Chohan* are also worth beholding. When their arms ply in fight the foe survives not; their *heads as they fall* exclaim *havac*, the standing trunk tranching the air, and from the blood fresh warriors rise and renew the fight. Do you, oh VÍRA, accompany our warriors, and with them dance a moment in the red field of slaughter. The war of Gods and Demons, even that of the *Máhābhārata* of old, was not more glorious than this; nor amongst them all was there the equal of the son of SOMESA."

"VÍRA-BHADRA smiled on the bard as he said 'The battles I have seen with the mighty swords of old, awoke from his meditations the father of creation: nay, the chaplet dropped from his hands. Such were they, that the strong in heart wished for distance. Oh mortal, let thy words resemble thy condition, and talk not as though thou wert exalted as myself. I saw SRI CRISHNA in the fight with DURYODHANA. Even of his immortality I had doubts; but thy words are incredible as if thou hadst said *Súméru* had been moved. These eyes beheld the war between KALI and the Demons: the deeds of these mortals I regard as a dream."

"VÍRA BHADRA became warm: his eyes glared with rage. Oh bard insignificant, lower your speech. To awake me to see your conflict! the heroes of DURYÓDHANA alone dared to do this!" As he spoke volcanic flames issued from his throat; the three worlds shook. "No battle equalled that of DURYÓDHANA; nor would I term what mortals can perform a battle. Mimic not, therefore, your superiors; but from my mouth listen to the fight of DURYÓDHANA."

VÍRA-BHADRA (or TIME) proceeds to relate to the *Prophetic Seer* TRI-CÁL the events of the great international war amongst the YÁDAVAS, which forms

one of the many beautiful episodes of the *Rajpút Homer*, extracted from the ancient historical poems of the martial races, as the *Máhábharat*, *Rámáyána*, &c. &c. As I have already given the passage in a paper printed in the Transactions of the *Société Asiatique* of Paris, I shall refer the reader to it.*

VÍRA-BHADRA having related the grand battle between the *Cúrús* and *Pándús*, in turn listens to CHAND, who entertains him with a biographical sketch of all the great leaders (*Sámantas*) assembled in the cause of Rajpút independence, and at the same time gives VÍRA-BHADRA a specimen of the prophetic power which gave him the title of *Tri-cál*, or 'cognoscent of the past, present, and future,' by revealing the events which were to follow that battle, in which he was overheard, by his sovereign PRITHI-RAJA. A grand council ensues, in which the plan of the campaign is debated, when each chieftain delivers his sentiments in an oration. CHAND concludes with an invocation to Time (KAL).

3d. JAYAD-RAT'HA.

On this *Charioteer*, or chariot of *Victory*, represented by SÍVA, I have nothing to say. SÍVA, it is suggested, has borrowed the car of SÚRYA (the Sun) to bear him to battle; but if this were the intent, where is SAPTÁSWÁ, the *seven-headed horse* of the Sun?

4th. BHAIRAVA.

BHAIRAVA, or BHYRÚ, has an important part assigned to him in the *dramatis personæ* of the field of battle, on which occasion he represents the god of war. The rites of BHAIRAVA are accordingly of a terrific description, nor can he be propitiated but by blood-offerings. There are two BHAIRAVAS, *Gorá* and *Kálá*, or the fair and black. They are the twin sons of the terrific goddess KÁLICA, the Cybele of the Rajpúts, and are her standard-bearers in the field of slaughter. *Gorá*, or the fair BHAIRAVA, is seldom mentioned, and the devotions of the Rajpút are generally to his sable brother, who is also called BAJRANGA, or of *thunder-bolt frame*. The dog, which is probably the only animal excluded from the honours of deification in the crowded pantheon of the Hindús, is sacred to BHAIRAVA, and is his

* See article "De l'origine Asiatique de quelques-unes des anciennes Tribús de l'Europe établies sur les rivages de la mer Baltique," &c. &c. *Journal Asiatique*, No. 50, Mai 1827.

companion in the field of battle;* and he is sculptured riding on a dog, with the martial horn called *Napairi* in one hand, and the *Damru*, or small drum, with which he incites the courage of the combatants, in the other. The standard of this the elder son of the god of battle, is often described by the bard as being "of the colour of the rain-cloud," or a field *sable*, on which a white horse *passant* is delineated.

On a former occasion,† I gave from the great bard of the martial Rajpúts, a slight sketch of the machinery of a field of battle, in which CHAND, like Homer, brings the celestials to view, and often to mix with the fight. But CHAND's mythology takes a wider range than Homer's, and we must have recourse to the *Scald* of Scandinavia for a parallel to much of his imagery; for though Chand makes *Kailasa* shake, as Homer did Olympus with the anger of JÍVAPITRI, the Greek was too refined to make the father of the gods quaff blood from the scull-cup, the *patera* (πότηρ) of SÍVA or HARI; for whose counterpart we must have reference to the THOR of the *Northman*, as well as for the sisters of our APSARAS and PALCHARAS, the VALKYRIES‡ of northern mythology.

In every field of battle, either SÍVA, or his consort, the terrific MATA, leads the war. She is on her lion, armed with the trident, preceded by her standard-bearing sons, the BHAIKAVAS, and followed by "the fatal sisters" the sixty-four *Yoginis*, with clouds of inferior powers all of female personification, and each holding a *patera* of the scull. Another extract from CHAND may better illustrate this, taken from one of the most interesting of the *sixty-nine cantos* of the bard, entitled "the Battle of *Canouj*, or the Vow of SUNJOGTA."§ I select a passage to shew that the bards of the Rajpúts, like those of Scandinavia, incited the warriors to deeds of glory by their example as well as by their poesy.

* The battle shouts of the *Rajpút* warrior are "*Hari-Hari* (the common epithet of SÍVA as god of war)," and "*havac, havac*." We might suppose the "immortal bard" had been reading CHAND, the HOMER of the Rajpúts, when he exclaims

"Cry *havoc*, and let slip the dogs of war."

Havoc is from the Cimbric or Welsh "*hafog*," meaning slaughter.

† See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i, p. 151.

‡ See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i, p. 150.

§ If these and the preceding extracts from the bard CHAND should excite an interest in the Society, it would be an inducement to me to give a few cantos, preceded by a biographical introduction on the life of his hero, the last emperor of the Hindús, as papers for the Transactions of the Society.

The *Chohán* prince of Delhi had carried off the Princess of Canouj. Her father, JYCHUND, at the head of all his forces, pursues, and the period of time when the bard CHAND engages is on the fourth day's fight, when they had almost reached the ferry of the Ganges. By this time PRITHI-RAJA had lost nearly three-fourths of his heroes, and he is about placing his bride, SUNJOGTA (who had hitherto remained on the same horse with himself), on a separate steed. Although night, there was no cessation of the fight, during the retreat from Canouj to Dehli.

"Night came: the beam of moon arose. The lord of men descended from his steed, and placed SUNJOGTA on another. The blood-stained arrows fly: one pierced the casque of the *Chohán*. Then did the bard demand to wield the sword; but his prince exclaimed, 'Strong are our swords, oh bard, leave thou the fight, that we may live song.'—'To sing your renown, oh lord, I leave JULHUN, my son: for me, I make offering of my head to MAHADEO.'

"As he spoke he gave his steed the rein: on his countenance shone the light of honour. The INDRA of song dashed into the throng of fight, like the moon* athwart the constellations. His steed KESHORE, the gift of his lord, fit to be yoked to the chariot of the sun, of the blood of Irak,† like a wave of the sea, his ear the lance's point, his eye soft as that of the fair, his mane like the rippling wave: from the bucklers of the slain his hoof struck fire as he bore the bard to battle. Where'er his sword fell, the *Yoginis* filled their cups with the blood of the northmen. The gods shouted applause. Covered with wounds was KESHORE, but the mountain-born‡ preserved her worshipper. The *Apsaras* sung his praise, the *Palcharas*§ feasted in the track of his sword. Applause || to the bard! He rejoined his lord on foot; his steed lay in the field.

* Here we lose the force of the original, for CHAND (the Bard) compares the rapidity of his own movements to those of *Chandra* (the moon) passing over the constellations: one of the many *jeux de mots* in which our poet indulges.

† A Persian province renowned for its breed of horses.

‡ PARVATÍ, one of the names of the Indian Minerva.

§ *Palchara* is from *pala* 'flesh,' and *charna* 'to feed on.' The *Valkyrie* of Scandinavian mythology, is a being between the *Apsara* and *Palchara*; neither so ethereal as the first, nor so material as the latter.

|| The warlike bards of *Ind*, like the Scalds and poetic heroes of Scandinavia, possessed none of the false shame which prevented their lauding themselves on fit occasion. CHAND is a conspicuous example of this, never omitting an opportunity of eulogizing his own valour.

"The battle raged. Steel met steel; the mace resounds on the helm; the heroes are inebriated with the war-song; bucklers are broken in pieces. The gods convene above. Never, say they, such deeds did mortals perform: they fight on mountains of slain, o'er whose sides descend rivers of blood.

"Then did UTTITAI seize his trident. The *Yoginis* in his train, he rushed into the field. Each held the *patera* to drink the blood of the slain. MAHADEO followed his favourite to obtain a gem for his necklace.* In the lake of battle UTTITAI cut down the lotus; his trident broke the dam which kept in its waters. MAHADEO filled his chaplet: the *Dévis* glutted with blood. JESSWUNT Rahtore bowed to his lord as he opposed the hero; but with a laugh UTTITAI threw his head at the feet of MAHADEO. Once more the *Mirs* of the north† engaged; fresh heroes of Canouj replaced the slain. REMBHA and the heavenly fair descended. UTTITAI was their choice, but the *Urvāsis*‡ quarrelled for the hero: they agreed to share him amongst them. Thrice the hero broke the circle of fight. When the war-shell reached his ear, his head touched heaven: the host of Canouj fled before him; the *Yoginis* exclaimed, 'Victory to UTTITAI!' while each host called aloud, 'Renown to the lord of the trident!' The *Apsaras* hovered o'er the hero, each eagerly struggled; but nor REMBHA nor APSARA was destined; GUNGA§ herself received her son in her embrace: the wave closed o'er the form of UTTITAI.

"The *Gandarva*|| took flight for the regions above: to the god of the

The *Edda* affords many specimens of the same character. In the following runic verses, a northern hero is introduced boasting of himself:

"I am master of nine accomplishments. I play well at chess; I know how to engrave runic letters; I am apt at my book, and know how to handle the tools of the smith; I traverse the snow in skais of wood; I excel in shooting with the bow, and in managing the oar; I sing to the harp and compose verses."

Chand gives his hero, PRITHI-RAJA, thirty-two accomplishments, besides seventy-two graces of a minor description!

* By this metaphor the Bard prepares us for the death of the hero.

† A title applied to the *Syuds*, of which tribe was the prophet Mahommed.

‡ A title of the *Apsaras*, implying "dwellers on the breast" (*úra*).

§ The virtues of the Ganges as a lustral stream are well known. To die on its banks is certain beatitude, and the ashes of great men are conveyed many hundred miles to be consigned to its waters.

|| A celestial chorister.

firmament he related the deeds of UTTITAI. INDRA prepared his car to view the fight. Crowds of APSARAS* filled the vault of heaven, each ascending with the heroes of their choice.

“ As the mountain torrent bursting its bounds expands o’er the plain, so flowed the current of blood. Gunga’s wave was crimsoned with the slain, horses and riders were borne down her flood. In the array of war UTTITAI was of victory the pillar; when received into Gunga’s embrace, again did the foe encompass Dehli’s lord.”

* “ APSARA ” is one of the celestial messengers who convey the heroes that fall in battle to the heaven allotted to them, and attend on them there. They have all the characteristics of “ Odin’s maids of war,” though the APSARA is of more ethereal mould. REMBHA, the Hindu Venus, is queen of the *Apsaras*, which word has precisely the same etymology as *Aphrodite*, one of the names of Venus, because born from the froth of the sea, viz. *Ap* ‘ water,’ and *sara* ‘ the essence, cream, or froth.’

I shall some day pursue these analogies in points of Grecian and Hindu mythology, hitherto unnoticed.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

METEOROLOGICAL REGISTERS *communicated by Major General Thomas
Hardwicke, M.R.A.S.*

Memorandum.—The whole of the Atmospherical Phenomena recorded in the following Tables were observed and registered by Major General Hardwicke, at Dum Dum, eight miles North-east of Fort William, in Bengal.

Thermometrical Register for the Year 1822.

JANUARY.				FEBRUARY.			MARCH.		
Days.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.
1	7	493.5	70.5	7	505.5	72.21	7	557.5	79.64
2	7	516.	73.71	7	483.5	69.07	7	556.	79.42
3	7	502.	71.71	7	464.	66.28	7	561.5	80.21
4	7	478.5	68.35	7	465.	66.42	7	558.5	79.78
5	7	502.5	71.78	7	480.	68.57	7	585.5	83.64
6	7	487.	69.57	7	482.5	68.92	7	604.5	86.35
7	7	478.5	68.35	7	506.5	72.35	7	595.	85.
8	7	483.	69.	7	523.5	74.78	7	594.5	84.92
9	7	491.	70.14	7	550.	78.57	7	585.	83.57
10	7	489.5	69.92	7	550.5	78.64	7	586.5	83.78
11	7	487.5	69.64	7	530.	75.71	7	591.	84.42
12	7	485.5	69.35	7	540.	77.14	7	589.5	84.21
13	7	487.	69.57	7	566.5	80.92	7	594.	84.82
14	7	495.	70.71	7	547.5	78.21	7	597.	85.28
15	7	500.	71.42	7	564.5	80.64	7	586.5	83.78
16	7	497.	71.	7	563.	80.42	7	558.5	79.78
17	7	477.5	68.21	7	576.	82.28	7	563.5	80.5
18	7	488.	69.71	7	576.5	82.35	7	571.5	81.78
19	7	488.5	69.78	7	574.	82.	7	561.	80.14
20	7	493.5	70.5	7	559.5	79.92	7	582.5	83.21
21	7	502.	71.71	7	509.	72.71	7	578.	82.57
22	7	473.	67.57	7	501.	71.57	7	573.5	81.92
23	7	449.5	64.21	7	509.5	72.78	7	587.	83.85
24	7	459.	65.57	7	530.	75.71	7	587.5	83.92
25	7	487.	69.57	7	549.	78.42	7	579.	82.71
26	7	521.5	74.5	7	530.	75.71	7	672.	84.
27	7	529.5	75.64	7	546.5	78.07	7	594.	84.85
28	7	516.	73.71	7	550.	78.57	7	595.5	85.07
29	7	537.	76.71	7			7	601.	85.85
30	7	519.5	74.21	7			7	556.5	79.5
31	7	519.5	74.21	7			7	535.5	76.5
Total.	217	15334.5	2190.53	196	14833.5	2118.94	217	18039.	2564.97
Monthly Mean.		70.66	70.66		75.68	75.67		82.74	82.74

APPENDIX.

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Thermometrical Register for the Year 1822.

APRIL.				MAY.			JUNE.		
Days.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.
1	7	549°	78°42	7	621°	88°71	7	611°	87°28
2	7	554°	79°14	8	701°	87°62	7	614°5	87°78
3	7	570°	81°42	8	688°	86°	7	623°5	89°07
4	7	582°	83°14	7	627°	89°57	7	637°	91°
5	7	573°5	81°92	7	621°	88°71	7	627°6	89°6
6	7	547°5	78°21	7	593°5	84°70	7	616°	88°
7	7	546°	78°	7	614°	87°71	7	574°5	82°07
8	7	547°	78°14	7	622°5	88°92	7	561°	80°14
9	7	557°	79°57	7	624°5	89°21	7	568°5	81°21
10	7	563°5	80°5	7	625°	89°28	7	570°	81°42
11	7	564°	80°57	7	608°5	86°92	7	568°25	81°17
12	7	593°	84°71	7	607°	86°71	7	614°	87°71
13	7	590°	84°28	7	609°5	87°07	7	623°5	89°07
14	7	578°	82°57	7	619°25	88°46	7	586°75	83°82
15	7	574°	82°	7	607°5	86°78	7	599°25	85°60
16	7	591°5	84°5	7	623°25	89°03	7	603°	86°14
17	7	596°5	85°21	7	625°5	89°35	7	604°	86°28
18	7	590°	84°28	7	629°5	89°92	7	615°75	87°96
19	7	600°	85°71	7	630°	90°	7	606°5	86°64
20	7	605°2	86°45	7	625°5	89°35	7	603°	86°14
21	7	578°	82°57	7	629°5	89°92	7	592°5	84°64
22	7	563°	80°42	7	614°	87°71	7	590°5	84°35
23	7	592°	84°71	7	615°5	87°92	7	591°	84°42
24	7	606°5	86°64	7	58°8	84°	7	590°75	84°39
25	7	603°5	86°21	7	596°5	85°21	7	501°25	84°43
26	7	586°5	83°78	7	594°5	84°92	7	586°5	83°78
27	7	584°5	83°5	7	585°5	83°64	7	594°	84°85
28	7	609°	87°	7	593°	84°71	7	597°5	85°35
29	7	611°	87°28	7	607°75	86°82	7	601°	85°85
30	7	621°5	88°78	7	624°75	89°25	7	592°	84°57
31				7	620°5	88°64			
Total.	210	17428°2	2489°63	219	19192°5	2716°84	210	17954°25	2564°73
Monthly Mean.		82°99	82°98		87°63	87°64		85°49	85°49

Thermometrical Register for the Year 1822.

JULY.				AUGUST.			SEPTEMBER.		
Days.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.
1	7	603.	86.14	7	576.5	82.35	7	588.	84.
2	7	589.	84.14	7	585.	83.57	7	591.	84.42
3	7	596.5	85.21	7	588.	84.	6	514.	85.66
4	7	598.5	85.5	7	588.	84.	7	588.	84.
5	7	598.	85.42	7	587.	83.85	7	577.5	82.5
6	7	594.	84.85	7	575.5	82.21	7	583.	83.28
7	7	590.	84.28	7	571.	81.57	7	594.	84.85
8	7	600.5	85.78	7	581.	83.	7	601.	85.85
9	7	585.	83.57	6	496.	82.66	7	596.5	85.21
10	7	589.75	84.25	5	417.	83.4	7	580.	82.85
11	7	589.	84.14	5	420.	84.	7	576.	82.28
12	7	599.	85.57	7	577.	82.42	7	575.	82.15
13	7	591.	84.42	6	493.	82.16	6	504.	84.
14	7	585.5	83.64	7	580.5	82.92	6	501.5	83.58
15	7	573.75	81.96	4	323.	80.75	6	504.5	84.08
16	7	591.	84.42	7	564.5	80.64	7	595.	85.
17	7	587.25	83.89	6	482.	80.33	7	609.	87.
18	7	587.5	83.92	7	583.5	83.35	7	590.5	84.35
19	7	587.	83.85	7	591.	84.42	7	594.5	84.92
20	7	581.5	83.07	7	596.	85.14	7	581.	83.
21	7	581.75	83.10	7	599.5	85.64	7	587.	83.85
22	7	590.25	84.32	7	599.5	85.64	6	503.	83.83
23	7	590.5	84.35	7	602.	86.	7	585.	83.57
24	7	581.75	83.10	7	569.	81.28	6	499.	83.16
25	7	588.	84.	5	412.	82.4	6	501.	83.5
26	7	581.5	83.07	7	580.	82.85	7	583.	83.28
27	6	490.	81.66	5	420.	84.	7	578.	82.57
28	7	582.	83.14	7	579.	82.71	7	585.	83.57
29	7	589.	84.14	7	585.5	83.64	7	592.5	84.64
30	7	575.	82.14	7	597.	85.28	6	494.	82.33
31	6	500.	83.33	6	516.	86.			
Total.	215	18076.5	2604.37	202	16835.	2582.18	202	16951.5	2517.28
Monthly Mean.		84.07	84.01		83.34	83.29		83.91	83.90

APPENDIX.

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Thermometrical Register for the Year 1822.

OCTOBER.				NOVEMBER.			DECEMBER.		
Days.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.	Obs.	Sum.	Mean.
1	7	558.	79.71	7	531.	75.85	7	492.5	70.35
2	7	576.	82.28	7	537.5	76.78	7	483.	69.
3	7	573.	81.85	7	543.	77.57	7	486.	69.42
4	7	583.5	83.35	7	545.	77.85	7	481.5	68.78
5	7	587.5	83.92	7	537.	76.71	7	472.	67.42
6	7	591.	84.42	7	537.	76.71	7	487.	69.57
7	7	598.5	85.5	7	525.5	75.07	7	474.	67.71
8	7	590.5	84.35	7	502.	71.71	5	340.	68.
9	7	591.5	84.5	7	527.5	75.35	7	487.5	69.64
10	7	589.	84.14	7	530.	75.71	7	481.5	68.78
11	7	592.5	84.64	7	526.5	75.21	7	489.	69.85
12	7	597.	85.28	7	529.	75.57	7	467.	66.71
13	7	593.	84.71	7	525.	75.	7	457.5	65.35
14	7	595.5	85.07	7	527.	75.28	7	464.	66.28
15	7	583.5	83.35	7	537.5	76.78	7	455.	65.
16	7	546.5	78.07	7	548.	78.28	7	471.	67.28
17	7	546.	78.	7	537.	76.21	7	476.5	68.07
18	7	539.	77.	7	534.	76.28	7	465.5	66.5
19	7	546.	78.	7	512.	73.14	7	467.	66.71
20	7	557.5	79.64	7	529.	75.57	7	475.5	67.92
21	7	552.	78.85	7	495.	70.71	7	458.	65.42
22	7	534.	76.28	7	477.	68.14	7	458.5	65.5
23	7	552.	78.85	7	489.5	69.92	7	464.	66.28
24	7	555.5	79.35	7	490.	70.	7	461.5	65.92
25	7	569.5	81.35	7	464.5	66.35	7	465.	66.42
26	7	548.	78.28	7	476.	68.	7	473.5	67.64
27	7	541.	77.28	7	475.	67.85	7	480.	68.57
28	7	529.	75.57	7	474.	67.71	7	478.	68.28
29	7	537.	76.71	7	478.	68.28	7	472.	67.42
30	7	534.	76.28	7	498.5	71.21	7	467.	66.71
31	7	533.	76.14				7	470.	67.14
Total.	217	17520.	2502.72	210	15438.	2205.30	215	14520.5	2092.64
Monthly Mean.		80.73	80.73		73.51	73.51		67.53	67.53

APPENDIX.

Barometrical Register for the Year 1822.

JANUARY.				FEBRUARY.			MARCH.		
Days.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.
1	^{Inches.} 29.99	30.05	29.97	30.07	30.11	30.02	30.02	30.10	30.00
2	29.98	30.06	29.94	30.06	30.12	30.04	30.02	30.04	29.89
3	29.98	30.07	29.99	30.05	30.11	30.05	29.87	29.91	29.82
4	30.02	30.06	29.96	30.07	30.15	30.05	29.89	29.97	29.89
5	30.00	30.05	29.99	30.07	30.15	30.05	29.94	29.98	29.84
6	30.13	30.21	30.09	30.08	30.14	30.06	29.85	29.95	29.85
7	30.12	30.15	30.06	30.06	30.13	30.06	29.93	30.01	29.92
8	30.07	30.12	30.04	30.06	30.09	29.98	29.95	29.99	29.91
9	30.04	30.09	30.03	29.99	30.01	29.91	29.92	29.96	29.86
10	30.06	30.12	30.04	29.90	29.96	29.88	29.89	29.97	29.87
11	30.09	30.15	30.09	29.98	30.06	29.96	29.95	30.03	29.92
12	30.10	30.14	30.05	29.98	30.03	29.92	29.95	30.01	29.92
13	30.06	30.12	30.03	29.93	29.99	29.91	29.95	30.01	29.89
14	30.06	30.14	30.04	29.96	30.02	29.91	29.90	29.94	29.84
15	30.05	30.12	30.01	29.91	29.94	29.83	29.90	29.93	29.89
16	30.04	30.10	30.01	29.86	29.95	29.88	29.93	30.01	29.96
17	30.02	30.07	29.95	29.88	29.94	29.89	29.96	30.00	29.92
18	29.98	30.04	29.95	29.87	29.92	29.85	29.94	30.02	29.89
19	29.96	30.05	29.97	29.92	29.97	29.87	29.97	30.02	29.94
20	30.01	30.08	29.99	29.92	29.98	29.91	29.98	30.03	29.92
21	30.01	30.04	29.95	29.95	30.04	29.96	29.94	29.99	29.85
22	29.96	30.02	29.92	29.99	30.07	29.98	29.89	29.92	29.81
23	29.98	30.05	29.98	29.98	30.02	29.93	29.81	29.84	29.78
24	30.02	30.07	29.98	29.93	29.98	29.89	29.78	29.83	29.70
25	30.02	30.05	29.95	29.92	30.00	29.96	29.81	29.85	29.79
26	29.97	30.01	29.89	30.02	30.09	29.97	29.85	29.89	29.81
27	29.98	30.03	29.94	30.01	30.06	29.98	29.82	29.87	29.80
28	30.03	30.07	29.95	30.01	30.07	29.97	29.82	29.86	29.78
29	29.96	30.00	29.89				29.81	29.88	29.74
30	29.96	30.06	29.98				29.88	29.95	29.81
31	30.04	30.10	30.03				29.95	29.99	29.92
	930.69	932.49	929.66	839.43	841.10	838.67	927.07	928.75	925.73
Mean.	30.02	30.08	29.98	29.97	30.03	29.95	29.90	29.95	29.86
Monthly Mean.				29.98			29.90		

APPENDIX.

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Burometrical Register for the Year 1822.

APRIL.				MAY.			JUNE.		
Days.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.
1	29°97	30°04	29°98	29°84	29°89	29°81	29°77	29°82	29°73
2	30°03	30°13	30°00	29°85	29°89	29°76	29°76	29°79	29°71
3	30°01	30°05	29°95	29°75	29°80	29°69	29°74	29°77	29°65
4	29°94	29°97	29°84	29°70	29°76	29°68	29°70	29°71	29°60
5	29°87	29°98	29°86	29°76	29°85	29°76	29°61	29°64	29°53
6	29°87	29°93	29°84	29°84	29°90	29°82	29°57	29°58	29°47
7	29°92	30°01	29°90	29°84	29°88	29°77	29°47	29°48	29°33
8	29°96	30°02	29°94	29°82	29°87	29°77	29°25	29°26	29°19
9	29°93	29°98	29°89	29°82	29°88	29°76	29°35	29°44	29°42
10	29°91	29°95	29°84	29°84	29°88	29°74	29°45	29°46	29°36
11	29°88	29°93	29°85	29°77	29°81	29°65	29°28	29°34	29°34
12	29°89	29°94	29°84	29°74	29°79	29°68	29°48	29°56	29°54
13	29°86	29°92	29°82	29°68	29°75	29°66	29°55	29°58	29°55
14	29°90	29°94	29°85	29°70	29°75	29°66	29°62	29°66	29°60
15	29°93	29°96	29°87	29°71	29°74	29°65	29°65	29°70	29°63
16	29°91	29°98	29°83	29°66	29°69	29°61	29°66	29°70	29°64
17	29°94	29°99	29°91	29°63	29°65	29°57	29°65	29°67	29°58
18	29°95	29°98	29°87	29°63	29°66	29°60	29°63	29°66	29°53
19	29°87	29°90	29°77	29°63	29°67	29°64	29°57	29°61	29°51
20	29°79	29°86	29°72	29°68	29°74	29°68	29°54	29°57	29°48
21	29°88	29°95	29°87	29°66	29°68	29°57	29°53	29°56	29°51
22	29°88	29°99	29°91	29°52	29°59	29°49	29°58	29°64	29°60
23	29°94	30°00	29°89	29°55	29°59	29°51	29°65	29°69	29°66
24	29°91	29°96	29°86	29°62	29°71	29°65	29°67	29°70	29°65
25	29°86	29°91	29°83	29°67	29°73	29°61	29°66	29°69	29°65
26	29°83	29°88	29°78	29°66	29°69	29°51	29°67	29°73	29°69
27	29°88	29°92	29°85	29°66	29°73	29°73	29°72	29°75	29°68
28	29°86	29°92	29°81	29°76	29°82	29°79	29°69	29°72	29°66
29	29°86	29°91	29°80	29°84	29°87	29°75	29°67	29°71	29°67
30	29°84	29°88	29°78	29°79	29°83	29°69	29°69	29°70	29°64
31				29°75	29°80	29°70			
	897°07	898°78	895°75	921°57	922°89	919°96	887°83	888°89	886°80
Mean.	29°90	29°95	29°85	29°72	29°77	29°67	29°59	29°62	29°56
Monthly Mean.	29°90			29°72			29°59		

Barometrical Register for the Year 1822.

JULY.				AUGUST.			SEPTEMBER.		
Days.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.
1	29.64	29.66	29.60	29.65	29.68	29.61	29.75	29.77	29.65
2	29.65	29.71	29.65	29.66	29.73	29.68	29.71	29.74	29.63
3	29.67	29.68	29.62	29.76	29.80	29.73	26.71	29.73	29.67
4	29.63	29.65	29.56	29.77	29.80	29.70	29.67	29.70	20.60
5	29.54	29.55	29.47	29.72	29.74	29.68	29.60	29.61	29.58
6	29.52	29.55	29.53	29.70	29.73	29.69	29.64	29.70	29.62
7	29.58	29.64	29.56	29.70	29.72	29.62	29.66	29.71	29.62
8	29.61	29.66	29.60	29.65	29.65	29.60	29.68	29.78	29.66
9	29.66	29.69	29.65	29.65	29.69	29.65	29.60	29.60	29.52
10	29.64	29.70	29.65	29.66	29.73	29.68	29.60	29.60	29.52
11	29.67	29.72	29.65	29.69	29.72	29.62	29.57	29.63	29.60
12	29.66	29.68	29.59	29.62	29.62	29.51	29.70	29.70	29.66
13	29.60	29.63	29.58	29.54	29.59	29.55	29.74	29.76	29.70
14	29.60	29.63	29.55	29.59	29.65	29.61	29.70	29.73	29.65
15	29.56	29.58	29.53	29.65	29.66	29.64	29.72	29.76	29.73
16	29.55	29.57	29.50	29.67	29.72	29.67	29.74	29.77	29.69
17	29.53	29.56	29.51	29.73	29.80	29.73	29.73	29.77	29.65
18	29.55	29.57	29.47	29.75	29.79	29.72	29.68	29.71	29.60
19	29.50	29.53	29.55	29.77	29.83	29.76	29.66	29.66	29.60
20	29.45	29.45	29.43	29.79	29.82	29.72	29.67	29.73	29.71
21	29.48	29.56	29.52	29.72	29.74	29.65	29.76	29.82	29.75
22	29.54	29.61	29.57	29.68	29.69	29.60	29.76	29.78	29.70
23	29.58	29.61	29.57	29.69	29.71	29.60	29.74	29.79	29.72
24	29.58	29.60	29.57	29.63	29.71	29.66	29.75	29.83	29.75
25	29.59	29.62	29.56	29.72	29.77	29.69	29.82	29.86	29.78
26	29.57	29.60	29.57	29.72	29.76	29.68	29.84	29.86	29.79
27	29.63	29.66	29.65	29.71	29.75	29.68	29.80	29.81	29.71
28	29.67	29.73	29.70	29.71	29.72	29.64	29.74	29.77	29.68
29	29.74	29.77	29.70	29.66	29.70	29.70	29.72	29.78	29.74
30	29.73	29.78	29.71	29.75	29.82	29.72	29.77	29.80	29.73
31	29.72	29.75	29.67	29.78	29.82	29.70			
	917.64	918.70	917.04	920.49	921.66	919.47	891.23	892.26	890.01
Mean.	29.6	29.63	29.58	29.69	29.73	29.66	29.7	29.74	29.66
Monthly Mean.	29.60			29.69			29.70		

APPENDIX.

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Barometrical Register for the Year 1822.

OCTOBER.				NOVEMBER.			DECEMBER.		
Days.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.	Sun Rise.	Noon.	Evening.
1	29.74	29.82	29.73	29.99	30.03	29.97	30.05	30.09	30.00
2	29.80	29.88	29.80	29.98	30.01	29.97	30.00	30.03	29.95
3	29.84	29.87	29.82	29.98	30.01	29.97	30.00	30.05	30.00
4	29.82	29.87	29.82	29.97	30.02	29.97	30.03	30.09	30.00
5	29.86	29.92	29.85	29.99	30.02	29.99	30.05	30.09	30.00
6	29.85	29.90	29.82	29.99	30.02	29.97	30.01	30.07	29.96
7	29.86	29.89	29.82	29.98	30.01	29.98	30.00	30.04	29.95
8	29.84	29.88	29.82	29.98	30.03	29.95	30.00	30.06	29.97
9	29.86	29.89	29.82	29.96	29.99	29.90	30.00	30.07	29.98
10	29.85	29.92	29.82	29.91	29.97	29.99	30.00	30.05	29.94
11	29.87	29.92	29.82	29.92	29.99	29.91	30.01	30.09	30.00
12	29.86	29.90	29.80	29.97	30.03	29.96	30.04	30.09	30.00
13	29.80	29.86	29.77	30.00	30.07	30.00	30.00	30.08	29.98
14	29.80	29.86	29.77	30.01	30.07	29.98	30.01	30.07	29.97
15	29.79	29.81	29.73	30.00	30.02	29.95	30.01	30.09	30.00
16	29.75	29.75	29.71	29.99	30.03	29.99	30.04	30.10	30.00
17	29.63	29.65	29.60	30.01	30.06	30.00	30.02	30.07	29.97
18	29.59	29.62	29.59	30.03	30.08	30.00	30.00	30.06	29.97
19	29.73	29.84	29.81	30.00	30.05	29.99	29.98	30.03	29.93
20	29.88	29.98	29.90	30.00	30.08	30.00	30.00	30.09	29.96
21	29.90	29.93	29.87	30.01	30.07	30.00	30.00	30.07	29.99
22	29.91	29.99	29.96	30.08	30.08	30.00	30.03	30.07	29.99
23	30.00	30.08	30.00	30.02	30.09	29.99	30.05	30.12	30.02
24	30.00	30.09	30.00	30.01	30.07	29.96	30.06	30.13	30.05
25	30.00	30.02	29.95	29.99	30.05	29.98	30.10	30.17	30.07
26	29.95	30.00	29.95	30.01	30.10	30.02	30.10	30.15	30.04
27	29.97	30.02	29.97	30.07	30.12	30.02	30.07	30.11	30.03
28	29.98	30.02	29.96	30.05	30.08	29.99	30.06	30.12	30.03
29	29.96	30.01	29.93	30.04	30.10	30.01	30.04	30.09	29.98
30	29.94	30.00	29.91	30.06	30.11	30.04	30.00	30.05	29.97
31	29.97	30.01	29.97				30.03	30.08	30.00
	925.59	927.20	925.09	900.00	901.46	899.45	931.79	932.47	929.70
Mean	29.85	29.9	29.84	30.00	30.04	29.98	30.05	30.07	29.99
Monthly Mean.	29.86			30.00			30.03		

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APPENDIX.

Table of Fahrenheit's Thermometer for Eight Years, abstracted from a Daily Register.

Months.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.	Mean of each Month for 8 Years.
January ...	Max. 64·5	77·	76·	74·	73·	78·	83·	80·5	65·21
	Min. 56·	45·	49·	40·5	42·	43·	52·5	52·	
	Mean —	66·23	65·44	60·49	58·91	66·53	70·66	68·22	
February	Max. 71·	77·	83·	84·	89·	86·	90·	86·	70·62
	Min. 63·	52·	45·5	47·	46·	48·	54·5	57·	
	Mean —	68·34	70·01	67·52	65·28	73·22	75·68	74·33	
March ...	Max. 85·	85·	87·	88·	86·	88·5	92·5	89·	78·05
	Min. 71·	60·	56·	56·	60·	61·	65·5	63·	
	Mean 79·39	74·55	75·16	78·55	77·12	78·23	82·74	78·73	
April	Max. 92·5	92·	92·	90·	89·	93·	94·5	95·	83·28
	Min. 74·	71·	65·5	66·	67·	67·	70·5	69·	
	Mean 82·07	84·24	81·66	80·24	82·61	85·	82·99	87·49	
May	Max. 96·	93·	92·	92·	92·	96·	94·5	96·	85·47
	Min. 76·	70·	65·	75·	76·	69·	76·	76·	
	Mean 86·53	83·12	85·1	84·09	85·11	86·12	87·63	86·10	
June	Max. 98·	89·	94·	92·	90·	96·	95·5	93·	84·69
	Min. 76·	75·	75·	72·	76·	77·	78·	78·	
	Mean 86·18	82·56	83·34	83·63	83·99	87·31	85·49	85·02	
July	Max. 90·	89·	88·	89·	89·	91·	88·	87·5	82·61
	Min. 77·	75·	76·	76·5	78·	76·	79·	77·5	
	Mean 81·75	82·41	81·01	82·53	82·76	84·22	84·07	82·20	
August ...	Max. 88·	89·	88·	88·	89·	89·	89·	86·5	82·88
	Min. 78·	76·	76·5	76·	76·	79·	78·	77·	
	Mean 82·92	82·97	82·49	82·2	83·6	83·65	83·34	81·93	
September	Max. 89·	90·	85·	88·	90·	89·	90·	87·5	82·41
	Min. 76·	75·	75·	77·	76·	78·	79·	76·5	
	Mean 81·79	82·45	80·18	82·56	83·75	82·68	83·91	81·99	
October ...	Max. 89·	88·	87·	88·	87·	87·	89·	87·	80·98
	Min. 62·	73·	67·	70·	66·	66·	56·	74·	
	Mean 80·09	81·33	80·57	80·23	81·14	80·94	80·73	82·85	
November	Max. 81·	88·	82·	85·	87·	84·	82·	85·	73·46
	Min. 52·	58·	55·	60·	58·	57·	53·5	58·	
	Mean 71·69	74·14	71·76	73·96	74·04	75·47	73·51	73·17	
December	Max. 76·	78·	79·	75·	76·	79·	78·	—	66·50
	Min. 48·	52·	50·	50·	48·	53·5	53·	—	
	Mean 65·65	67·	65·45	64·81	65·96	69·11	67·53	—	

N. B. The Mean given in this Table is not taken from the Maximum and Minimum only, but from the Sum of all the Observations in each Month.

APPENDIX.

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Table showing the Range of the Barometer for a period of Eight Years.

Months.		1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.	Mean of each Month for 8 Years.
January ...	Min.	—	29.97	29.91	29.82	29.84	29.90	29.89	29.88	30.2
	Max.	—	30.16	30.18	30.16	30.14	30.22	30.15	30.20	
	Mean	—	30.04	30.06	29.96	30.00	30.05	30.02	30.02	
February	Min.	—	29.84	29.77	29.87	29.88	29.22	29.83	29.85	29.99
	Max.	—	30.15	30.16	30.14	30.17	30.15	30.15	30.18	
	Mean	—	30.02	29.97	29.98	30.00	29.99	29.98	30.02	
March ...	Min.	—	29.78	29.82	29.60	29.76	29.75	29.70	29.82	29.91
	Max.	—	30.13	30.05	30.02	30.09	30.10	30.10	30.09	
	Mean	—	29.95	29.93	29.84	29.93	29.91	29.90	29.94	
April	Min.	29.71	29.70	29.72	29.59	29.69	29.77	29.72	29.64	29.82
	Max.	29.96	29.94	30.06	29.94	29.96	30.04	30.13	30.02	
	Mean	29.81	29.75	29.86	29.78	29.80	29.87	29.90	29.79	
May	Min.	29.51	29.61	29.72	29.34	29.62	29.55	29.49	29.42	29.72
	Max.	29.99	29.93	30.06	29.90	29.94	29.98	29.90	29.87	
	Mean	29.70	29.75	29.71	29.72	29.74	29.74	29.72	29.71	
June	Min.	29.48	29.45	29.51	29.49	29.52	29.46	29.19	29.41	29.61
	Max.	29.74	29.78	29.90	29.74	29.73	29.83	29.82	29.80	
	Mean	29.60	29.61	29.62	29.64	29.61	29.63	29.59	29.59	
July	Min.	29.34	29.40	29.35	29.50	29.51	29.31	29.43	29.37	29.58
	Max.	29.67	29.78	29.81	29.85	29.79	29.86	29.78	29.67	
	Mean	29.58	29.54	29.60	29.67	29.64	29.56	29.60	29.52	
August ...	Min.	29.56	29.41	29.44	29.53	29.48	29.45	29.51	29.28	29.62
	Max.	29.75	29.76	29.79	29.80	29.85	29.77	26.83	29.82	
	Mean	29.65	29.62	29.60	29.64	29.69	29.55	29.69	29.59	
September	Min.	29.60	29.44	29.58	29.46	29.60	29.61	29.52	29.54	29.75
	Max.	29.91	29.96	29.88	29.88	29.90	29.97	29.86	29.87	
	Mean	29.79	29.74	29.72	29.87	29.76	29.77	29.70	29.68	
October ...	Min.	29.76	29.83	29.68	29.65	29.75	29.73	29.55	29.70	29.88
	Max.	30.09	30.00	29.98	29.97	30.09	30.06	30.08	30.06	
	Mean	29.94	29.90	29.84	29.81	29.93	29.90	29.86	29.87	
November	Min.	29.90	29.83	29.85	29.91	29.92	29.70	29.91	29.79	29.98
	Max.	30.15	30.13	30.08	30.09	30.17	30.17	30.12	30.16	
	Mean	30.02	29.96	29.91	29.99	30.03	29.97	30.00	29.98	
December	Min.	29.94	29.97	29.93	29.92	29.94	29.94	29.93	—	30.04
	Max.	30.17	30.15	30.13	30.13	30.15	30.19	30.17	—	
	Mean	30.05	30.05	30.01	30.03	30.05	30.07	30.03	—	

N.B. The Mean given in this Table is taken from the Maximum and Minimum only.

Thermometrical Table, showing the greatest Difference between the lowest and highest Temperature in each Month for every Month of the Year for Eight Years.

	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.	Mean of 8 Years.
January	—	32°	27°	33°5	31°	35°	30°5	27°5	31°1
February....	—	25°	37°5	37°	43°	38°	35°5	29°	35°1
March	—	25°	31°	32°	26°	27°5	27°	26°	27°7
April.....	18°5	21°	27°5	24°	22°	26°	24°	26°	23°6
May	20°	23°	27°	17°	16°	27°	18°5	20°	21°6
June	22°	14°	19°	20°	24°	19°	17°5	15°	18°8
July	23°	14°	12°	13°5	11°	15°	19°	10°	14°6
August.....	10°	13°	11°5	12°	13°	10°	11°	8°5	11°1
September .	13°	25°	10°	11°	14°	11°	11°	11°	13°2
October	27°	15°	20°	18°	21°	21°	33°	13°	21°
November .	29°	30°	27°	25°	29°	27°	28°5	27°	27°8
December .	28°	26°	29°	25°	28°	25°5	25°	28°	26°7

NOTICE.

The Barometer used in forming the preceding Barometrical Tables was a marine one, and proved, by comparisons with the barometric observations of that able and accurate surveyor Captain Webb, to be a very good instrument. From April 1816 to June 1821, it was placed in a northern verandah of a low-roomed house, quite out of the influence of radiated heat or partial currents of wind, but exposed to all winds, and hanging about eight feet above the common level of the plain. From the 1st of June to the end of November 1823 it hung about 20 feet higher, but in other respects the same as to aspect and exposure to air. The diurnal fluctuations of the mercurial column are now so well known as no longer to excite surprise; but the occasion of them, when not accounted for by corresponding changes in the atmosphere, has not yet been clearly explained. In a period of several years, I have found the deviation in the rise and fall of the mercury, at stated times in the twenty-four hours, so regular as to be able to reduce it to general rules. Thus I found the mercurial column attained its greatest elevation by about 10 A. M., and remained stationary till 2; its decline then commenced, and continued till 4 P. M. It remained stationary from that hour to 6 P. M. After 6 it again began to rise, and the same course of change as was exhibited by day continued through the night.

The moment of its beginning to rise and its continuance often varied, however, and so did the fall, but it may be inferred generally that the minimum elevation of the mercurial column is at 6 in the morning and 6 in the evening; and its maximum at noon and midnight. The fall of the mercury each day is generally twice as great as the rise, or nearly so, as will appear from an inspection of the annexed table of the rise and fall for a whole year.

APPENDIX.

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Synopsis of the Daily Variations of the Mercurial Column in the Barometer for every Month of the Year 1822.

JANUARY.			FEBRUARY.		MARCH.		APRIL.		MAY.		JUNE.	
Date.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.
1	I. D. 0·06	I. D. 0·08	I. D. 0·04	I. D. 0·09	I. D. 0·08	I. D. 0·10	I. D. 0·07	I. D. 0·06	I. D. 0·05	I. D. 0·09	I. D. 0·05	I. D. 0·09
2	·08	·12	·06	·08	·02	·14	·13	·13	·04	·13	·03	·08
3	·09	·08	·06	·06	·04	·09	·04	·10	·05	·11	·03	·12
4	·04	·10	·08	·10	·08	·08	·03	·13	·06	·08	·01	·03
5	·05	·06	·08	·10	·04	·14	·11	·12	·09	·09	·03	·11
6	·08	·12	·08	·08	·10	·10	·06	·09	·06	·08	·01	·11
7	·03	·09	·07	·07	·08	·09	·09	·11	·04	·11	·01	·15
8	·05	·08	·03	·11	·04	·08	·06	·10	·05	·10	·01	·07
9	·05	·06	·02	·10	·04	·10	·05	·09	·06	·12	·09	·02
10	·06	·08	·06	·08	·08	·10	·04	·11	·04	·14	·01	·10
11	·06	·06	·08	·10	·08	·11	·05	·08	·04	·10	·01	·00
12	·04	·09	·05	·11	·06	·09	·05	·10	·05	·11	·08	·02
13	·06	·09	·06	·08	·06	·12	·06	·10	·07	·09	·03	·03
14	·08	·10	·06	·11	·04	·08	·04	·09	·05	·05	·04	·06
15	·07	·11	·03	·11	·03	·04	·03	·09	·03	·09	·04	·06
16	·06	·09	·09	·07	·08	·05	·07	·15	·03	·08	·04	·06
17	·05	·12	·06	·05	·04	·08	·05	·08	·02	·08	·02	·09
18	·06	·09	·05	·07	·08	·13	·03	·11	·03	·06	·03	·13
19	·09	·08	·05	·10	·05	·08	·03	·13	·04	·03	·04	·10
20	·07	·07	·06	·07	·05	·11	·07	·14	·06	·06	·03	·09
21	·03	·09	·09	·08	·05	·14	·07	·08	·02	·11	·03	·05
22	·06	·10	·08	·09	·03	·11	·11	·08	·06	·09	·06	·04
23	·07	·07	·04	·09	·03	·06	·06	·11	·04	·08	·04	·03
24	·05	·05	·04	·08	·05	·13	·05	·10	·09	·06	·03	·05
25	·03	·10	·10	·04	·04	·06	·05	·08	·06	·12	·03	·04
26	·04	·12	·07	·12	·04	·08	·05	·10	·03	·11	·06	·04
27	·05	·09	·05	·08	·05	·07	·04	·07	·07	·01	·05	·05
28	·04	·12	·06	·10	·04	·08	·06	·11	·06	·03	·03	·06
29	·04	·10	—	—	·07	·14	·05	·11	·03	·12	·04	·04
30	·10	·08	—	—	·07	·14	·04	·10	·04	·13	·01	·06
31	·06	·07	—	—	·04	·07	—	—	·05	·10	—	—
Total	1·80	2·76	1·70	2·42	1·68	2·99	1·74	3·05	1·51	2·76	1·02	1·98
Mean	·058	·089	·060	·086	·054	·096	·058	·101	·048	·089	·034	·066

Synopsis of the Daily Variations of the Mercurial Column in the Barometer for every Month of the Year 1822.

JULY.			AUGUST.		SEPTEMBER.		OCTOBER.		NOVEMBER.		DECEMBER.	
Date.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.
1	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.07	0.02	0.12	0.08	0.09	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.09
2	.06	.06	.07	.05	.03	.11	.08	.08	.03	.04	.03	.08
3	.01	.06	.04	.07	.02	.08	.03	.05	.03	.04	.05	.05
4	.02	.09	.03	.08	.03	.10	.05	.05	.05	.05	.06	.09
5	.01	.08	.02	.06	.01	.03	.06	.07	.03	.03	.05	.10
6	.03	.02	.03	.04	.06	.08	.05	.08	.03	.05	.06	.11
7	.06	.08	.02	.10	.05	.09	.03	.07	.03	.03	.04	.09
8	.05	.06	.00	.05	.10	.12	.04	.06	.05	.08	.06	.09
9	.03	.04	.04	.03	.00	.08	.03	.07	.01	.07	.07	.09
10	.06	.05	.07	.05	.00	.08	.07	.10	.06	.04	.05	.11
11	.05	.07	.03	.05	.06	.03	.05	.10	.07	.08	.08	.09
12	.02	.09	.00	.11	.00	.04	.04	.10	.04	.05	.04	.09
13	.03	.05	.05	.04	.02	.10	.06	.09	.07	.07	.08	.10
14	.03	.08	.06	.04	.03	.08	.06	.09	.06	.09	.06	.10
15	.02	.05	.01	.02	.04	.03	.02	.08	.02	.07	.08	.09
16	.02	.07	.05	.05	.03	.08	.00	.04	.04	.03	.04	.10
17	.03	.05	.07	.07	.04	.12	.03	.05	.05	.06	.05	.10
18	.02	.10	.04	.07	.03	.11	.03	.03	.05	.08	.06	.09
19	.03	.08	.06	.07	.00	.06	.11	.03	.05	.05	.05	.10
20	.00	.02	.03	.10	.06	.02	.10	.08	.08	.08	.09	.13
21	.08	.04	.02	.09	.06	.07	.03	.06	.07	.07	.07	.08
22	.07	.04	.01	.09	.02	.08	.08	.03	.00	.08	.07	.10
23	.03	.04	.02	.11	.05	.07	.08	.08	.07	.10	.07	.10
24	.02	.03	.08	.05	.08	.07	.09	.09	.06	.11	.07	.08
25	.04	.06	.05	.08	.04	.08	.02	.07	.06	.07	.07	.10
26	.03	.03	.04	.08	.02	.07	.05	.05	.09	.08	.05	.11
27	.03	.01	.04	.07	.01	.10	.05	.05	.05	.10	.04	.08
28	.06	.03	.01	.08	.03	.09	.04	.06	.03	.07	.03	.09
29	.03	.07	.04	.00	.06	.04	.04	.07	.06	.09	.05	.11
30	.05	.07	.07	.10	.03	.07	.06	.09	.05	.07	.05	.08
31	.05	.02	.04	.12	—	—	.04	.04	—	—	.05	.08
Total	1.09	1.70	1.17	2.09	1.03	2.30	1.59	2.10	1.43	1.99	1.79	2.00
Mean	.035	.054	.037	.067	.034	.076	.051	.067	.047	.066	.057	.064

Latitude of Fort William, 22° 33' 10".

Notes on the Fluctuations exhibited in the preceding Table.

In January 1822, the atmospheric phenomena in this month produce no material irregularity in the flux and reflux of the mercurial column.

February. On the 2d and 3d, the rise and fall appear to be but little and nearly equal, the result was strong winds with rain. On the 6th, 7th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th, similar irregularities occur, and were followed by like results. On the 25th and 26th the rise was great, and the descent of the mercury began before 12 at noon. The result was, both days stormy.

March 1st and 2d. The rise and fall equal; the result, squally weather.
 5th. The fall greatly exceeded the rise; result, squally weather.
 6th, 7th and 15th. The rise and fall nearly equal; result, squally weather.
 16th. The rise greater than the fall; result, squalls with thunder.
 18th. The fall greatest; result, squalls, thunder, hail and rain.
 21st and 24th. The fall greatest; result, strong winds in violent gusts.
 29th. The fall of the mercury began before noon and was great, and between 4 and 6 P.M. it rose one-tenth of an inch. This was followed by a gale of wind, with rain, thunder and lightning.
 30th. The rise and fall irregular; the result, storms, with rain, thunder, &c.

April 1st and 2d. The rise and fall were irregular, but no material atmospheric changes followed.
 4th. The fall was great and rise small; result, squalls, rain and thunder.
 5th. Both fall and rise, great and equal; the result, squalls, rain and thunder.
 20th to 23d. Rise and fall unsteady. The weather unsettled.

May 2d and 3d. The rise small, the fall great. Squally with strong winds.
 5th. Rise and fall equal; result, unsettled weather.
 10th, 11th, 14th, 19th, 24th, 27th, and 28th. The fall and rise on these days irregular, and the weather squally with strong winds, thunder, and rain.

June. The rise and fall of the mercury irregular throughout this month, influenced no doubt by the commencement of the periodical rains.

July and August. The irregularities noticed last month continue in these months, and may be also attributed to the periodical rains.

September 1st the fall of the mercury was six times greater than the rise. The result was stormy weather with thunder, lightning, and much rain.
 9th and 10th. No rise; the result thunder, lightning, and heavy rain.
 12th. The rise did not begin before 8 A.M., it was followed by rain.

October. The rise and fall of the Barometer on the 2d, 3d, 5th and 6th, were irregular, and the weather within that interval was squally and wet; but the same irregularity occurred on the 11th, 16th, 18th, 19th and 20th, without any corresponding atmospheric changes.

November. The equality in the rise and fall in the first eight days of this month, has at other seasons of the year been followed with bad weather, but in the present instance no such consequence resulted. On the 10th the fall of the mercury began at 1 A.M., and at 2 P.M. it was rising and continued to rise till 6 P.M. (a very unusual thing). On the 22d a similar irregularity occurred, but in both instances was unattended by any material atmospheric phenomenon.

December. The oscillations of the mercurial column in this month were active, and variable, but atmospheric changes occurred but seldom. The prevailing winds were N.W. and the weather fine.

The mean, rise, and fall of the Barometer, in the annexed Table, for each month, is shown by dividing the totals of each column by the number of days in the corresponding month.

Months.	Rise.	Fall.	Months.	Rise.	Fall.
In January	·058	·089	July	·035	·054
February ...	·060	·086	August	·037	·067
March	·054	·096	September...	·034	·073
April	·058	·101	October	·051	·067
May	·048	·089	November ...	·047	·066
June	·034	·066	December ...	·057	·064

*Register of the Hygrometer for Eight Years, registered at the same Hours as the
Thermometrical Observations in the preceding Tables.*

Years.	1816.		1817.		1818.		1819.		1820.		1821.		1822.		1823.	
Months.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
January ...	—	—	10·11	2·02	10·78	2·35	—	—	4·50	2·15	9·33	1·37	10·24	2·01	7·30	1·60
February	—	—	10·10	2·55	10·85	1·90	—	—	6·60	1·30	9·83	1·40	9·70	1·36	7·60	1·40
March ...	4·90	2·00	10·95	2·24	10·30	1·60	—	—	6·80	1·60	10·20	2·05	9·87	1·30	10·65	1·38
April	5·77	2·62	10·90	2·46	10·20	2·20	—	—	6·90	2·90	10·20	1·75	9·11	2·29	6·90	1·65
May	8·12	2·40	10·18	3·00	10·20	2·20	—	—	6·80	2·00	10·09	2·85	9·14	2·50	7·48	2·00
June	9·04	2·60	10·20	4·30	10·20	3·45	—	—	7·74	4·05	10·15	3·38	7·98	2·79	8·23	3·00
July	9·97	4·87	10·22	5·50	—	—	—	—	8·20	5·15	10·11	4·22	8·37	4·74	9·15	4·06
August ...	10·01	4·45	10·24	4·80	—	—	—	—	8·70	4·60	10·05	5·02	8·27	4·60	9·10	4·92
September	10·10	3·89	10·37	4·10	—	—	—	—	7·90	4·20	10·15	4·09	8·80	4·65	8·60	4·64
October ...	10·14	2·28	10·26	3·10	—	—	6·45	4·15	8·50	2·25	10·30	2·33	8·70	3·10	9·00	3·27
November	10·11	2·05	10·25	2·62	—	—	6·95	3·00	6·40	2·33	10·20	2·32	9·10	2·00	9·90	2·60
December	10·10	2·30	10·22	2·60	—	—	6·60	2·98	5·03	1·53	9·22	2·23	7·30	2·00	—	—

From long-continued attention to my Hygrometer (Capt. Kater's), I placed much dependence on its sensibility. On some occasions I have noticed its changes were occasioned by passing clouds, at times of the day when the index previously had indicated much dryness; when the cloud had passed over, the index soon regained the point from which it had moved half an hour before. The high numbers indicated in the columns of the maximum, occurred in the early hours of the morning, and were greater or less according to the continuance and density of the fogs.

The instrument always stood at a distance from any door or window, but both doors and windows being open, it received all the influence of a moist or a dry atmosphere. The low numbers indicate a very dry state of the atmosphere; at 2·60 the leather binding and thin paste-board covering of books began to curl, and at from 2·00 to 1·60 pens split as soon as laid aside, ink uncovered was rapidly absorbed, and water standing in a porous earthen vessel cooled by evaporation to ten degrees below the thermometer.

The scale or range of this instrument was to 11·94, the point of complete saturation.

The blanks in this table were occasioned by the hygrometer being under repair. Its action was impaired by dust, but was restored by cleaning.

APPENDIX.

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RAIN AND FOGS.

Enumeration of Days on which Rain has fallen at Dum Dum in every Month from 1816 to 1823 inclusive; also of Foggy Mornings, distinguished by the terms Dense and Light, the quantity floating in the Atmosphere on the Mornings registered.

Months.	1816.		1817.		1818.		1819.		1820.		1821.		1822.		1823.	
	Rain.	Fog. Dense. Light	Rain.	Fog. D. L.	Rain.	Fog. D. L.	Rain.	Fog. D. L.	Rain.	Fog. D. L.	Rain.	Fog. D. L.	Rain.	Fog. D. L.	Rain.	Fog. D. L.
	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.
January ...	1	3. 10	1	7. 3	3	9. 13	0	5. 3	0	0. 6	1	5. 5	3	6. 6	0	6. 8
February	3	4. 5	17	4. 3	3	8. 6	0	6. 2	0	6. 2	4	8. 0	2	8. 4	2	2. 2
March ...	4	4. 9	18	4. 3	10	5. 2	3	5. 3	1	7. 4	8	3. 4	9	3. 4	4	2. 2
April	9	0. 3	6	0. 3	7	2. 0	12	4. 2	8	0. 0	5	5. 2	11	1. 3	4	0. 0
May	9	0. 0	15	0. 0	11	0. 0	6	4. 0	15	1. 0	7	0. 0	11	0. 0	13	0. 0
June	21	0. 0	22	0. 0	19	0. 0	15	0. 0	20	1. 0	14	0. 2	25	0. 0	15	0. 0
July	31	0. 0	26	0. 0	25	0. 0	25	0. 0	25	0. 0	19	0. 0	31	0. 0	24	0. 0
August ...	22	0. 0	20	0. 0	22	0. 0	24	0. 1	22	0. 0	31	0. 0	22	0. 0	27	0. 0
September	26	1. 0	18	0. 3	29	2. 0	17	0. 0	16	0. 2	23	0. 0	20	0. 1	20	0. 0
October ...	3	0. 13	9	3. 6	6	3. 4	12	0. 2	7	4. 7	6	5. 4	8	1. 5	6	0. 9
November	0	3. 8	5	4. 7	0	3. 16	1	0. 4	0	3. 8	0	9. 8	4	2. 9	6	0. 5
December	0	1. 7	2	8. 7	0	6. 9	0	5. 2	3	1. 4	0	6. 14	0	14. 9	0	0. 0
In each year.	129	16. 55 71	159	30. 35 65	135	38. 50 88	115	29. 19 48	117	23. 33 56	118	41. 39 80	146	35. 41 76	121	10. 26 36

Medium of Eight Years.

January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September	October.	November	December
Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.
Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.	Rain. Fog.
1½. 11½	3½. 8½	7½. 8	7½. 3½	10½. 0½	18½. 0½	26½. 0	23½. 0½	21½. 1½	7½. 8½	2. 11½	0½. 13½

It will be seen by this Table that fogs prevail most in those months which produce least rain; and, to this source of refreshment to vegetation, in January, February, and March, may be added the copious dews which fall at this season, which, united with the fogs, preserve a verdure over the plains of Bengal, not common to the higher provinces. The country for many miles round Calcutta is almost a flat surface, the plains of Dum Dum only exceeding the height of the spring tides about eight feet, and it is not much above thirty feet higher than the level of the sea.

Table of the prevailing Winds in every Month of the Year, during eight Years, registered at the same times with the other Atmospheric Phenomena recorded in the foregoing Tables.

Years.	Winds.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total in the Year.
1816	West	5	6	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	6	26 W.
	N.W.	4	—	—	—	—	—	5	2	2	8	10	12	43 N.W.
	North	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	13	10	32 N.
	N.E.	0	2	6	—	—	2	—	4	6	2	3	3	28 N.E.
	East	8	11	4	—	3	5	6	7	7	2	—	—	53 E.
	S.E.	5	3	8	7	4	2	7	6	7	1	2	—	52 S.E.
	South	3	3	6	13	13	11	6	4	5	—	—	—	64 S.
	S.W.	1	1	6	8	11	10	7	8	3	8	2	—	65 S.W.
1817	West	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	2	1	6 W.
	N.W.	8	2	3	1	2	—	—	—	—	2	6	10	34 N.W.
	North	6	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	12	11	33 N.
	N.E.	5	5	3	—	2	2	2	3	3	6	4	7	42 N.E.
	East	2	8	3	2	6	16	10	8	6	5	2	2	70 E.
	S.E.	4	3	7	9	12	—	10	12	11	8	2	—	78 S.E.
	South	1	1	10	10	8	5	5	3	3	4	1	—	51 S.
	S.W.	3	3	3	8	1	1	4	4	7	4	1	—	39 S.W.
1818	West	2	—	—	—	1	2	4	3	2	4	—	2	20 W.
	N.W.	1	4	1	3	—	2	—	1	—	9	7	6	34 N.W.
	North	21	5	2	2	—	—	—	—	1	3	16	16	66 N.
	N.E.	4	5	4	3	—	2	1	3	4	4	6	5	41 N.E.
	East	3	6	5	3	1	7	4	12	11	3	1	1	57 E.
	S.E.	—	—	5	5	7	8	8	9	12	2	—	—	56 S.E.
	South	—	3	6	11	10	4	8	1	—	2	—	—	45 S.
	S.W.	—	5	7	3	12	5	6	2	—	4	—	1	45 S.W.
1819	West	3	2	—	—	—	2	—	1	1	—	1	1	11 W.
	N.W.	13	11	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	7	9	16	59 N.W.
	North	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	7	8	34 N.
	N.E.	6	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	3	3	11	6	41 N.E.
	East	—	4	6	1	3	6	10	12	10	3	2	—	57 E.
	S.E.	—	—	3	5	2	3	13	4	7	4	—	—	41 S.E.
	South	4	—	13	12	18	14	6	5	6	4	—	—	82 S.
	S.W.	—	5	6	9	5	4	1	7	3	—	—	—	40 S.W.

APPENDIX.

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Tables of the prevailing Winds in every Month of the Year, during eight Years, registered at the same times with the other Atmospheric Phenomena recorded in the foregoing Tables—continued.

Years.	Winds.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total in the Year.
1820	West	2	5	12	3	1	—	3	—	5	—	5	2	38 W.
	N.W.	8	3	2	—	1	—	—	—	2	6	3	5	30 N.W.
	North	17	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	19	17	71 N.
	N.E.	3	5	1	—	—	—	—	4	3	7	2	5	30 N.E.
	East	—	—	—	1	7	13	7	10	3	2	—	2	45 E.
	S.E.	—	—	—	2	7	3	2	10	4	—	—	—	28 S.E.
	South	—	2	2	19	12	9	15	7	3	4	—	—	73 S.
	S.W.	—	5	14	5	3	4	4	—	10	2	2	—	49 S.W.
1821	West	2	7	2	6	—	2	1	5	—	—	—	12	37 W.
	N.W.	7	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	19	25	14	68 N.W.
	North	4	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	9 N.
	N.E.	12	5	—	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	23 N.E.
	East	3	2	1	—	—	6	4	1	2	—	—	—	19 E.
	S.E.	3	8	9	10	10	7	13	11	13	3	2	2	91 S.E.
	South	1	4	5	2	13	3	5	1	—	—	—	—	34 S.
	S.W.	—	—	12	9	6	12	7	13	14	8	2	2	85 S.W.
1822	West	2	5	—	12	9	11	2	4	7	3	3	2	60 W.
	N.W.	11	12	2	3	3	5	—	—	—	11	26	27	100 N.W.
	North	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	6 N.
	N.E.	2	2	2	1	2	—	—	—	—	4	1	—	14 N.E.
	East	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	5 E.
	S.E.	1	2	9	1	5	14	11	4	7	2	—	—	56 S.E.
	South	—	—	5	—	3	—	—	2	3	3	—	—	16 S.
	S.W.	13	6	12	13	8	—	16	19	13	8	—	—	108 S.W.
1823	West	13	9	5	5	—	4	12	6	2	9	2		67 W.
	N.W.	17	10	7	—	—	—	—	2	—	11	12		59 N.W.
	North	—	—	3	—	—	—	2	—	3	—	13		21 N.
	N.E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	2	3		10 N.E.
	East	—	1	—	—	1	4	1	7	11	1	—		26 E.
	S.E.	—	—	1	—	8	—	—	—	3	—	—		11 S.E.
	South	—	3	—	11	10	—	4	6	2	1	—		37 S.
	S.W.	1	—	7	13	5	22	12	8	6	7	—	Not registered this Month.	81 S.W.

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PROSPECTUS

OF A

Plan for translating and publishing such interesting and valuable Works on Eastern History, Science, and Belles-Lettres as are still in MS. in the Libraries of the Universities, the British Museum, and the East-India House, and in other Collections, in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe; and for providing Funds to carry this object into execution.

1. THE extensive and valuable collections of Oriental MSS. which are deposited in our public and private libraries, have long attracted the attention of the learned of this and other countries; and it has been suggested that some means, offering a reasonable prospect of success, may be devised, by which the public may be put in possession of all that is valuable in Eastern literature, and an opportunity be presented for shewing that this country is not at present backward in contributing to the advancement of Oriental learning, in which she has long held the foremost rank. The interesting relations, moreover, in which this country stands with the East, affording as they do the best opportunities for carrying such a project into effect, and at the same time promising both to England and its Eastern possessions the most beneficial results, may be mentioned as additional motives for engaging in such an undertaking.

2. The advantages likely to be derived from a more extensive cultivation of Oriental literature in this country may be considered as applicable to Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical and General History, Biography, Belles-Lettres, the Arts and Sciences, and Geography.

3. With reference to Biblical Criticism and Ecclesiastical History, we know that our Scriptures, particularly those of the Old Testament, abound in modes of expression, and allusions to customs, in many cases imperfectly understood in Europe, but still prevailing in the East. That light confessedly derived from the Arabic and other sister dialects of the Hebrew, has been thrown on the text of Scripture by the Rabbinical and other commentators, few will deny; yet volumes on Arabic Grammar, Rhetoric, and the more ancient productions of the Arabian poets, which approach most nearly in style and sentiments to some parts of the Hebrew Bible, still lie in MS. in our libraries, either entirely neglected, or at best accessible to few.

4. In the Syriac language, which approximates still nearer than the Arabic to the Hebrew in its form and modes of expression, there are in our libraries unpublished Grammars and Dictionaries, and even Commentaries on the Scriptures, written by the Bishops and other learned members of the Oriental churches, together with MS. works of the greatest value to Divines, on Ecclesiastical History and Divinity, composed by the fathers of the Syrian and Arabian churches. The collection also of the late Mr. Rich, now placed in the British Museum by the liberality of Parliament, contains perhaps the most valuable MSS. of the Syriac Scriptures now in existence; and it is of the greatest importance to Biblical criticism that a collation of them should be made and published.

5. Perhaps no people possess more extensive stores of History, Biography, and Polite Literature, than the Arabs and Persians. The accounts which their historical and biographical works contain of their own and the surrounding countries, are necessarily the principal sources from which information can be obtained relative to the history of those regions, and of the extraordinary persons to whom they have given birth. Their histories of the Crusades in particular, which furnish the most authentic details on this interesting subject, will always amuse and instruct the general reader, while they furnish materials of the greatest importance to the

historian. In Polite Literature, and especially in works of fiction, they have perhaps never been excelled, and in studying such of their works in Belles-Lettres as have been already printed in any European language, regret must be felt that but few of these books, which are so well calculated to afford us pleasure, have been translated.

6. Whatever may be our present superiority over Asia in the arts and sciences, it cannot be uninteresting to the inquiring mind to recur to the sources from which we derived the first elements of our knowledge. In this respect Asia must be recognized as the elder sister and instructress of Europe; and although the hordes of barbarians, which poured forth like a torrent from her north-western regions, effectually extinguished the light which she at first imparted, yet we are indebted to the Mohammedan courts of Cordova, Grenada, and Seville, for its restoration, as it is to them that Europe owes the rudiments of many of her now highly cultivated arts and sciences.

7. From Asiatic works on the Mathematics and Medicine perhaps much light is not now to be expected. To trace the progress of these sciences, however, under the Caliphate, when science had declined among the Greeks, cannot be uninteresting to the philosopher. And as many of the most celebrated of the Greek authors were translated into Arabic, under the patronage of the court of Bagdad, it is not improbable that some long-lost Greek works may be discovered in an Arabian dress, as was the case with the treatise on Conic Sections by Apollonius Pergæus, brought to Europe by Golius, and translated by Halley.

8. From the mercantile pursuits of the Arabs, foreign countries were explored, and commercial establishments formed by them, at an early period of their history; and it is anticipated that accounts of their travels may be discovered, not less interesting than those of Ibn Batuta, noticed by Mr. Burckhardt, and of which some specimens have been published by Kosegarten and Apetz, or of the two Moham-medans who visited India and China in the ninth century, translated and published by the learned Renaudot.

9. But while the literature of the East in general is highly worthy of our notice, that of British India has an especial claim to our regard. The possession of a more intimate acquaintance with the History, Geography, Statistics, Laws, and Usages of that portion of our Empire, must be productive of good both to the governors and the governed; and to procure means for obtaining information on these subjects is one of the principal designs of this Prospectus.

10. The object proposed is, to publish, free of expense to the Authors, translations of the whole or parts of such works in the Oriental languages as the Oriental Translation Committee shall approve. These translations are generally to be accompanied by the original texts printed separately, and such illustrations as may be considered necessary. By the publication of the original text it is intended to multiply copies of such works as are scarce, and to furnish students at a moderate expense with correct copies of the best Asiatic works, to which they might not otherwise have access.

11. It is not intended to confine the operations of the Committee to works in the Arabic, Persian, and Syriac languages; it is their intention to translate and publish standard and interesting works in Sanscrit, Chinese, Pali, Cingalese, and Burmese; in the languages of Thibet, Tartary, and Turkey; in the Malayan, and other dialects of the Eastern Archipelago; and in the numerous dialects of Hindustan, and the southern peninsula of India.

12. It cannot be expected that the publication of Oriental texts and translations can be effected to any considerable extent, by the efforts of individuals, for none but a public body can command the funds, or furnish the literary means necessary for such an undertaking. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which was instituted for the advancement of Oriental literature, is the only Institution

in this country to which the public can look with any prospect of success for the accomplishment of such a project; and the Council of that Society have expressed their willingness to co-operate in the execution of the plan which it is the object of this Prospectus to make known. They have subscribed largely from their funds; have selected a Committee, consisting of individuals well known for their zeal and attainments in Eastern literature, to superintend the editing, translating, and printing of the works that are to be published; and have granted the use of their house for the transaction of the business of the Committee:—thus affording the best proofs of their readiness to promote the proposed object, and the strongest guarantee to the public that such works as may be recommended for publication will be executed in a manner that will render them worthy of the patronage that is now solicited.

13. For the purpose of directing the attention of Scholars to the literature of the East, and encouraging translations, the Oriental Translation Committee will give annually, for such works or portions of works as they consider deserving of distinction, four rewards in money, in sums of from £50 to £100 each, and four gold medals of the value of fifteen guineas each, inscribed with the names of the individuals to whom they are presented. Translators whose works are approved, will be entitled to either description of reward, unless they expressly limit their views to the medals. The rewards and medals will be conferred at the Annual Meeting; and success on one occasion will not disqualify for receiving rewards or medals at future anniversaries. Any Member of the Committee who sends a work for approval, whether with a view to obtaining a reward or medal, or merely to have it printed at the Committee's expense, is to cease to act on the Committee until a decision is given on his work.

14. The Oriental Translation Committee now appeal to the liberality of the public for such pecuniary aid as will enable them to effect the objects proposed in this Prospectus. The sums contributed will be appropriated exclusively to the execution of the plan above detailed, and the accounts will be examined, and a report made annually to the Subscribers of the application of the Funds, by an Auditor, who is to be elected by and from the body of the Subscribers. A report of the progress made in translating and printing during the year will also be made to the Subscribers annually, and notices will be given of such works as the Committee may intend to print at the expense of the Funds contributed by the Subscribers.

15. The terms of subscription are, that every individual or institution subscribing Ten Guineas or upwards annually, will be entitled to one fine-paper copy of every work translated, printed, and published by the Committee, with the name of the individual or institution subscribing printed on the back of the title-page. Individuals or Institutions subscribing Five Guineas annually, will be entitled to any of the works published by the Committee, to the amount of their subscription, at half the price paid for them by Non-subscribers. The remaining copies, after a certain number has been given to the Translator or Editor for presentation, will be disposed of by the Committee in such a manner as they may consider most conducive to their objects, and to the advancement of Oriental literature.

16. The Committee propose to open communications with the Literary Societies, the British Governors and Consuls, and learned individuals in Asia and Africa, for the purpose of procuring scarce and valuable Oriental MSS. They also intend to communicate with the Oriental scholars in this and other countries, for the purpose of bringing to light texts and translations of valuable Oriental works, which may now lie in MS. in public and private libraries; and thus, by every available means, to endeavour to preserve what might otherwise be irrecoverably lost, and to make known original works and translations which might otherwise never meet the public eye.

17. The Committee confidently expect that valuable translations will be obtained from Asia, as they feel assured that many civil and military officers residing there have hitherto been deterred from translating Oriental works by their having no opportunity for publishing the result of their labours in England. As that opportunity is now

offered, it is hoped that they will be stimulated by the desire of improvement in the Asiatic languages, and the prospect of acquiring celebrity in Europe, to make translations and avail themselves of the means of publication presented in this Prospectus. For the purpose of obtaining Translations and Subscriptions from Asia, learned men in India, Ceylon, Penang, China, &c. will be invited to form themselves into Corresponding Committees.

18. The willingness already evinced to further this design, induces the Committee to entertain the most lively hopes of success. From the list of distinguished names prefixed and appended to this Prospectus they have the greatest encouragement to proceed, and have every reason to expect that the execution of the plan will be materially assisted by the British Universities.

19. It is requested that those individuals who are willing to become subscribers to the Oriental Translation Fund will send their names and addresses to the Secretary, Mr. WILLIAM HUTTMANN, at the house of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 14, Grafton Street, Bond Street, London; and that they will inform him where their subscriptions will be paid. Subscriptions will also be received by such Houses of Agency as may be nominated by the Corresponding Committees in Asia.

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The President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford	10	10	0
The Library of Jesus College, Cambridge	10	10	0
The Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	10	10	0
H. Alexander, Esq., M.P.	10	10	0
R. S. Berry, Esq.	10	10	0
Lieutenant-Colonel William Blackburne	10	10	0
J. Broadhurst, Esq.	10	10	0
Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence, F.R.S.	10	10	0
John Guillemard, Esq.	10	10	0
A Hamilton, Esq.	10	10	0
Major Gen. Thomas Hardwicke	10	10	0
R. Gregory, Esq.	10	10	0
Prince Hoare, Esq., F.R.S.	10	10	0
H. W. Hobhouse, Esq.	10	10	0
Thomas Hope, Esq., F.R.S.	10	10	0
R. Jenkins, Esq.	10	10	0
Peter Johnston, of Carnsalloch, Esq.	10	10	0
John Lee, Esq., D.C.L.	10	10	0
Major Gen. Colin Macauley, M.P.	10	10	0
Dr. J. D. Macbride, Oxford	10	10	0
Captain F. Marryat, R.N., C.B., F.R.S.	10	10	0
W. Marsden, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S.	10	10	0
J. B. Morritt, Esq.	10	10	0
John Murray, Esq.	10	10	0
Colonel H. S. Osborn,	10	10	0
C. N. Pallmer, Esq., M.P.	10	10	0
John Story Penleaze, Esq.	10	10	0
Louis Hayes Petit, Esq., M.P. F.R.S.	10	10	0
D. Pollock, Esq.	10	10	0
The Rev. J. Proctor, D.D., Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge	10	10	0
The Rev. E. B. Pusey, A.M.	10	10	0
R. Simmons, Esq.	10	10	0
Mr. Sheriff Spottiswoode	10	10	0
Major General J. H. Symons	10	10	0
G. Watson Taylor, Esq., M.P. F.R.S.	10	10	0
W. Williams, Esq.	10	10	0
Captain J. Woolmore	10	10	0
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry	5	5	0
The Rev. G. C. Renouard, B.D.	5	5	0
R. J. Thomson, Esq.	5	5	0
The Rev. Archdeacon Wrangham.	5	5	0

R E P O R T
OF THE
ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE
TO
THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

THE Members of the Oriental Translation Committee, in meeting the Members of the Royal Family, the Nobility, and Gentlemen who have subscribed funds for the translation and printing of interesting Oriental works, indulge the hope that their preliminary proceedings, and the regulations they will have the honour to submit for consideration, will receive the approbation of this Meeting.

It is their particular wish that the statement they now present to the Subscribers may be received as an account of the proceedings of an institution still in its infancy, and not less requiring time than fostering care to bring it to maturity.

The Members of the Committee being individually interested in Oriental pursuits, and being also highly gratified by the liberal support their plan has received, have a double incentive to exertion, and hope, by their collective endeavours, to add considerably to the stock of information respecting Asia which Europe now possesses.

They feel assured that time alone is required to prove that the generous support of the Subscribers will lead to important results, and that the confidence reposed in their zeal has not been misplaced.

Their arrangements, however, cannot be considered complete, until corresponding Committees have been established in various parts of Asia, and are actively engaged in the execution of the plan developed in the Prospectus.

Under these circumstances, connected with the fact that little more than four months have elapsed since the formation of the Committee, they are not able to report having made much progress. They feel anxious, however, to make the Subscribers acquainted with what they have done up to the present time, and with their future intentions, prospects, and hopes.

The Committee have great satisfaction in stating that the most liberal support has been afforded to them by the Royal Asiatic Society, not only by their allowing the Committee's business to be transacted in their house, but also by their handsome transfer to the Oriental Translation Fund of the Honourable East-India Company's munificent annual subscription of one hundred guineas.

The English Universities have expressed their favourable disposition towards the undertaking, and received in the most friendly manner the hopes expressed by the Committee, of considerably diminishing the expense of printing by the assistance of the University presses.

Although essentially assisted by the enlightened views of the great literary bodies in England, the attention of the Committee has been directed to obtaining aid from distant quarters also; and they confidently hope that another annual meeting will not pass, without the communication of gratifying accounts from various parts of Asia and Africa.

Considerably within a year, copies of the Prospectus will have been received at the capitals of Turkey, Persia, Egypt, and the Barbary States, and by the numerous Consuls and mercantile firms existing on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean.

The opportunity offered by the intimate connexion of this country with Asia has been

eagerly embraced by the Committee, who have sought every means of communicating with Europeans residing even in its most inland countries.

The Presidencies of India will be centres from which Prospectuses will be forwarded to every Indian court, and to the confines of the Punjab, Tibet, and China; every where, it is hoped, awakening among our distant countrymen a desire to become known to the learned in Europe, through the means offered by this Committee.

Intimations of our object will also be forwarded to every mart and settlement of the Eastern ocean, extending to the most distant havens of its Archipelago, and to the coasts of China and Japan.

The various Missionary establishments, whether in India, Palestine, the Caucasus, or the Malayan peninsula, and the enlightened *employés* of the Russian Government, extending along the extensive southern frontier of the Russian empire to the furthest limits of Kamtschatka, will also be made acquainted with our existence and objects.

The majority, however, of these communications has been addressed to natives of Britain; and it is from them the Committee principally expect co-operation and support, in the attainment of their truly national object.

The principle of these appeals for literary and pecuniary assistance, in common with the rest of their proceedings, requires the sanction of the Subscribers; but the Committee have been obliged to anticipate the confirmation of their acts, to prevent their losing opportunities of communicating with India.

They hope that they will not be considered to have erred, as they have strictly conformed to the spirit of the Prospectus, the approval of which may be inferred from the patronage it has received.

Letters have been addressed to the Governor-General of India, the Governors of Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, Prince of Wales' Island, and Mauritius, and to the Presidents of the Literary Societies at the three Presidencies and Ceylon, proposing the formation of Corresponding Committees, to consist of the principal Oriental scholars residing in or near Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Columbo, George Town, and Port Louis.

The instructions for these Corresponding Committees, contained in letters of which a specimen is subjoined, although leaving them as uncontrolled as great distance and local differences necessarily require, will, it is hoped, be found to be strictly consonant with the general tenour of the Prospectus.

Letter to the Governor-General of India.

“ My LORD :—We trust that we may with confidence address your Lordship on the subject of the accompanying Prospectus, which has received general approbation in this country, and promises the most valuable results to Oriental literature.

“ Although the Oriental Translation Committee confidently rely on the abilities and zeal of learned individuals in England, still they look to their highly gifted countrymen in the East for great and efficient assistance.

“ This expectation, we are convinced, will not be disappointed; and we address your Lordship, as Governor-General of India, to solicit your Lordship's powerful aid, in the promotion of the extensive and important objects that are stated in the Prospectus.

“ Our views in this letter are directed to the formation of an efficient Corresponding Committee at Calcutta; and we presume to request that, in concert with the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, your Lordship will make a selection of persons from among the Europeans and natives residing within your Lordship's Government, to constitute that Committee.

“ When the Committee is appointed, we shall feel grateful for your Lordship's transmitting this letter to them; and we request that they will guide themselves by the spirit of the Prospectus, of which a considerable number is sent for distribution by them.

“ The Corresponding Committee is requested to make such additions to the Prospectus as local circumstances may render necessary; and to have them addressed to the persons referred to in the enclosed list, and to such others as they may consider likely to promote their views.

“ The expense of making those additions and of printing more Prospectuses (if those sent are not sufficient), as also that of transcribing translations and procuring their Oriental originals for the Committee in England, will be defrayed by that Committee, if, contrary to expectation, the sum collected in Bengal is inadequate to the payment.

“ The Corresponding Committee is empowered to add to its number, to make bye-laws agreeing with the spirit of the Prospectus, to suggest to the Committee in England improved means for attaining their objects, and to appoint houses of agency to receive subscriptions. They will also present those rewards or medals which may be awarded at home to residents in Bengal, and transmit copies of the works printed by the Committee in England to subscribers residing in that presidency.

“ Their most important duty, however, will be obtaining and transmitting to the Committee at home translations of Oriental MSS., accompanied by the original texts.

“ It is desirable that a meeting of the Subscribers residing in Bengal should be held annually in December, to receive a report from the Corresponding Committee, and to be informed of what has been done by the Committee in England.—A copy of that Report should be transmitted to the Committee in London.

“ The Oriental Translation Committee hope that the Corresponding Committee of Calcutta will not limit their views to Europeans, but will also endeavour to excite qualified natives to furnish translations. They also hope, that should any parts of this letter or of the Prospectus be considered ambiguous, the Corresponding Committee will interpret them according to their own judgment, without waiting for explanations from Europe.

“ We indulge the hope that, under your Lordship’s auspices, the Corresponding Committee will be able to obtain the assistance of the Native Princes residing in or near your Lordship’s Government, by pointing out to them the advantages that will accrue to the learned natives in their dominions, from being furnished with printed texts of scarce and valuable Oriental Manuscripts; and we trust that your Lordship will promote this desirable object, by permitting the letters, &c. addressed to the Native Princes to be sent through the Residents at their courts.

“ We shall also be grateful for your Lordship’s permitting the letters of the Corresponding Committee to be delivered free of postage within your Lordship’s Government, and for your Lordship’s allowing the communications from the Committee in Calcutta to the Committee in London to be forwarded through the authorities in England.

“ We trust that we may in a few months receive the gratifying intelligence of the inauguration of the Corresponding Committee, and of your Lordship and the Asiatic Society of Bengal (which we have addressed through its president) having displayed a degree of interest, commensurate with the importance of the object proposed to your Lordship’s notice, and placed under your Lordship’s patronage, &c.

“ We have the honour to be, &c.

“ (Signed) “ GORE OUSELEY,
“ G. T. STAUNTON,
“ E. H. EAST,
“ A. JOHNSTON,
“ MARK WILKS,
“ G. FITZCLARENCE.”

Letter to the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

“ SIR :—We have the honour of transmitting to you the duplicate of a Letter addressed to the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India, requesting his Lordship, in concert with yourself, to nominate a Committee at Calcutta, to obtain Translations, &c.; and we take the liberty of suggesting the desirableness of such members of the General Committee as reside in or near Calcutta being appointed Members of the Corresponding Committee.

“ From the zeal which yourself, and the learned body over which you preside, display in the cultivation of Oriental literature, we anticipate with confidence that you will render the most important assistance in the attainment of our proposed object.

“ We have the honour to be, &c.”

(Signed as above.)

The Committee have great pleasure in informing the Subscribers that they received from Lord William Bentinck, Governor General of India, before his Lordship's departure, the most gratifying assurances of his Lordship's intention to forward their views, to the utmost extent of his power, on his arrival at Calcutta.

Although zeal and efficiency may be confidently expected from all the Committees in Asia, it is impossible not to contemplate with peculiar satisfaction the auspices under which the Corresponding Committee will be formed at Bombay.

Few gentlemen occupying stations of authority and influence possess such means of effectively assisting the Committee as Sir John Malcolm, whose Oriental learning, and activity in the promotion of knowledge, are brilliant examples for every person, not only under his own, but also under every other Indian Government, to endeavour to imitate.

The attention that the Prospectus and letters will excite in India must, in the opinion of the Committee, create a desire for improvement in the Oriental languages among the junior Civil and Military Officers residing there; and it will be the duty of the Corresponding Committees, to foster that feeling, and transmit to Europe its beneficial results.

After preparing instructions for their Corresponding Committees, the Committee prepared a few regulations for their own government. These regulations will be submitted to you this day for amendment; or, if approved, for confirmation.

The Committee hope that the latitude they have proposed for themselves will only be considered an evidence of their extensive hopes and views, and that the Subscribers, in giving these regulations their sanction, will leave the Committee unshackled, at least for the first year, that they may have the means of ascertaining their power to accomplish the objects for which they were appointed.

Although most of these regulations have been formed on the basis of the original Prospectus, alterations have been suggested, which it was thought would add considerably to the usefulness and the pecuniary means of the Society:—these are the creation of a second class of subscribers, and the sale of a certain number of each of the works printed at the expense of the Oriental Translation Fund.

As the Subscribers of Ten guineas each are entitled gratuitously to a fine-paper copy of every work published by the Committee, it is proposed that an annual subscriber of five guineas shall be entitled to any of the works published by the Committee, to the extent of subscription, at half the price paid for them by the public; but without having his name printed on the back of the title-page, that distinction being reserved for the first class of Subscribers.

In relation to the second proposal, it is calculated that the difference of expense between an edition of 250 and 500 copies of any book is only about 7 per cent. exclusive of paper: printing the latter number instead of the former, and selling the copies that remained on hand after the Subscribers are furnished with those to which they are entitled, would therefore defray a considerable part of the expense of printing any translation, and thus enable the Committee to print additional works. The following particulars are added, to shew the advantage of printing some copies for sale of such works as the Committee may publish. An edition of 250 copies of a Persian and English work of 450 octavo pages would cost £125, or 10s. per copy; but the second 250 copies might be obtained for £35, or about 2s. 10d. per copy. If the second 250 copies were gradually sold at only 10s. each, the whole expense of printing the work would be ultimately repaid, with the exception of £35, for which sum 250 copies would be obtained by the Subscribers.

This calculation is founded on the supposition that none but really interesting works will be printed, and that there will consequently be a demand for them in England, on the Continent, and among Europeans in Asia. It is also confidently expected that many copies will be bought by learned natives of India, who may be either desirous of learning English or of possessing texts of standard Oriental works, free from the errors which often abound in manuscript copies.

The acting Treasurer has the honour to report to the Subscribers the state of the Society's funds made up to the present day.

The amount of subscriptions is £1,128. 15s., from which is to be deducted the expense of printing and circulating the Prospectus and incidental charges.

If it should receive the approbation of the Subscribers, the annual subscriptions will be considered payable on the 1st of January in each year, the second subscription being reckoned due in January 1829.

As the Secretary will be very much occupied in transacting the business of the Committee, it is hoped that the payment of fifty pounds a year to him, from the 1st of January 1828, will be approved by the Subscribers.

In connexion with the finances, it only remains for the Subscribers to elect from among themselves a Treasurer for the ensuing year, and an Auditor, to report at the next annual meeting the receipts and disbursements of the Oriental Translation Fund for the year that will then terminate.

The Committee, after thus giving an account of their proceedings and of the state of their funds, venture to express a hope that a continuation and increase of support will enable them to extend their operations, in proportion as their views enlarge in the execution of their plan.

It is now the agreeable duty of the Committee to announce to the Subscribers the encouraging prospects which have been created by their munificent support. The prosperous state of their funds, the advantages presented by the English Universities and the Royal Asiatic Society, and the gratuitous aid tendered by many eminent Orientalists, warrants the belief that the Subscribers, in addition to enjoying the honour of fostering an important branch of learning, and rescuing the national character from the charge of neglecting Oriental literature, will annually receive books greatly exceeding their subscriptions in value.

The Committee are desirous to avoid attributing too much effect to their labours; but they feel bound to state, that they know that the circulation of their Prospectus has already stimulated some individuals to undertake translations of Oriental works, and has attracted much attention to Asiatic literature.

The inquiries of the Committee have already brought to light several translations which had long remained unnoticed, and they have received a valuable collection of Oriental MSS. which were collected by the late Sir Charles Malet, Bart. during his residence in India, and presented to them by his son, Sir Alexander Malet, Bart., as soon as he was informed of their establishment and objects. A Catalogue of this collection is annexed.

Although, in selecting works for publication, the Committee's principal object will be to increase historical and general information, yet, in order to meet the taste of every class of the Subscribers, they have considered it proper to have some works of fiction translated, particularly as the East has furnished many highly interesting specimens of that species of literature, if even it is not the parent country of apologues and romances.

May 7, 1828.

CATALOGUE of Persian MSS., presented by Sir ALEXANDER MALET, Bart.

- شاه نامه فردوسي Sháh Námeĥ, by Firdousi, an Epic Poem, containing the History of the Kings of Persia.
- شاه جهان نامه Sháh Jehán Námeĥ : imperfect. The History of Sháh Jehán, Emperor of Hindustan.
- روضه الصفا Rouzet as Saffa, 7 Vols. Universal History.
- تاریخ امیر خواند Tarikh Amír Khaund : Universal Chronology. By Amír Khaund.
- اکبر نامه ءابو الفضل Akbar Námeĥ ; 3 Vols. : History of Akbar, Emperor of Hindustan.
- لغت فرهنگ Loghat Ferheng ; 2 Vols. : a Dictionary.
- مآثر الامرا Muásir Alomrah : History of Hindu Nobility.
- حبيب السیر Habbib Asseir ; 2 Vols. : fine copy : History of the Mahommedan States.
- حبيب السیر Ditto 2 Vols. : imperfect : ditto
- تاریخ خانی خان Tarikh Khafi Khan ; 2 Vols. : a short History of Hindustan.
- کلام مجید The Korán : a fine copy.
- حکم نامه Húkm Námeĥ : the Orders of Tippu Sultan.
- تیمور نامه Teimour Nameĥ : the History of Tamerlene.
- مرات سکندري Merát Sekenderi : the History of Guzerat.
- تاریخ نادري Tárikh Nádari : the History of Nádir Sháh, King of Persia.
- عبرت نامه Ibrut Nameĥ : History of Hindustan.
- صحيفة شاهي Sahifei Sháhi : Forms of Registers, Letters, &c.
- لطيفة فيضي Letifei Feizy : Letters.
- عالم كير نامه Aulumgir Námeĥ : the History of Aurungzebe Aulumgir, Emperor of Hindustan : two copies.
- روضه الشهدا Rouzet as Shohada : the History of Mahommed ; in Hindustani verse.
- منتخب التواريخ Muntekhab al Tuarikh : an Abridgment of Oriental History.
- حجت الهند Hujet al Hind : a Tale.
- میر غلام علي Meer Ghúlám Ali : Biographical Sketches of Oriental Poets.
- ديوان حافظ Diván Hafiz : the Odes of Hafiz.
- گلستان سعدي Gúlistán Sadi : Moral Tales.
- انشاي يوسفی Inshái Júsufy : Letters.
- خزانة عامره Khezánae Aumera : the Peerage of the Mogul Empire.

- كهتر اللغات Kehter al Loghát : an Abridged Dictionary.
 تاريخ Tárikh : a short History of India.
 بیاض Bíz : three Common-place books.

TRACTS.

- Historical Account of the Expedition of Sudasew-Chimnají to the North of
 India : Mahratta ; with a Plan of Arungabad.
 Account of Madhu Rao Peshwa.
 History of Ghazi ad Dín Khan.
 A Treatise on Hindu Astronomy : Sanscrit.
 Origin of the Seiks : two Tracts.
 History of the Rajahs of Sattara.
 Letter from Shah Aulum, Emperor of Hindustan, to his Majesty George III.
 History of the Rohillas.
 History of the Rajahs of Guzerat.
 Epitome of the Rise of the Mahratta Empire : Mahratta.
 Account of the Assassination of Nana Rao Peshwa : ditto.
 Account of Sendíp.
 Hindu Mythology.
 Hindu Astronomy : Sanscrit.
 Account of the Rajahs of Acheen : imperfect.
 Account of the Bhourla Rajahs.
 Account of Madhu Rao Peshwa.
 An Almanac : Sanscrit.
 Account of the Rajahs of Kolapur : Mahratta.

THE Committee have great pleasure in announcing that the following works have already been offered to them, and that several of them are nearly ready for the press. In the publication of these works, or of such others as the Committee may obtain or get translated, they pledge themselves to a strict observance of such regulations as the Subscribers may frame or sanction, and to as great a regard to economy as the expensive nature of copying and printing Oriental works permits.

LIST of TRANSLATIONS *preparing for publication, and which are generally to be accompanied by the Original Texts, and elucidated with Notes.*

Class 1st.—THEOLOGY, ETHICS, and METAPHYSICS.

1. The Cural, a work on Ethics, written by Tiruvalluven; translated by Richard Clarke, Esq.
This ancient work, written in the purest style of Tamul poetry, possesses a very high reputation in the whole of Southern India.
2. The Sânc'hya Cáricá: translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.
This Sanscrit work contains in seventy-two stanzas the principles of the Sânc'hya System of Metaphysical Philosophy.
3. The Akhlak-e-Naseri of Naser-ud-Din of Tus in Bucharia; translated by the Rev. H. G. Keene, A.M.
This Persian system of Ethics is an elaborate composition, formed on Greek models, and is very highly esteemed in Persia.
4. A Collation of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament, both Nestorian and Jacobite, that are accessible in England; by the Rev. Professor Lee.
This collation will include the various readings of all the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament in the British Museum, and the Libraries at Oxford, Cambridge, &c.
5. The Didascalia, or Apostolical Constitutions of the Abyssinian Church; translated by T. P. Platt, Esq., A.M.
This ancient Ethiopic work is unknown in Europe, and contains many very curious opinions.
6. The Bustan of Sadi; translated by James Ross, Esq., A.M.
This is a much admired Persian Poem, consisting of Tales, &c. illustrative of moral duties.

Class 2d.—HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, and TRAVELS.

7. The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, written by his attendant Archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo. Translated by F. C. Belfour, Esq., LL.D.
This Arabic Manuscript, which is of great rarity, describes the Patriarch's journey through Syria, Anatolia, Rumelia, Walachia, Moldavia, and Russia, between the years 1653 and 1660 of the Christian Era.
8. The Tareki Afghan; translated by Dr. Bernhard Dorn.
This is a Persian History of the Afghans, who claim to be descended from the Jews. It will be accompanied by an account of the Afghan tribes.
9. The Annals of Elias, Metropolitan of Nisibis; translated by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, A.M.
This Syriac Chronicle contains chronological tables of the principal dynasties of the world, brief memoirs of the Patriarchs of the Nestorian church, and notices of the most remarkable events in the East, from the birth of our Saviour to the beginning of the eleventh century.
10. The Travels of Evlia Effendi; translated by Ritter von Hammer.
This work contains an account in Turkish, of the travels of Evlia in all parts of the Turkish empire, and in Turkestan, &c. in the middle of the seventeenth century.
11. Naima's Annals; translated by the Rev. Dr. Henderson.
This Turkish history comprises the period between 1622 and 1692, and includes accounts of the Turkish invasion of Germany, the sieges of Buda, Vienna, &c.
12. The Asseba as Syar of Syed Muhammed Reza: translated by Mirza Alexander Kazem Beg.
This is a Turkish History of the Khans of the Crimea, written about A.D. 1740, and contains many interesting particulars relating to Turkey, Russia, Poland, and Germany.
13. Ibn Batuta's Travels: translated from the Arabic, and illustrated with copious notes by the Rev. Professor Lee.
Ibn Batuta spent above twenty years in travelling in the fourteenth century. Besides giving very interesting notices of Spain, Greece, Ceylon, Java, &c. he gives long accounts of Nigritia, the Maldiv Islands, where he acted as judge for eighteen months, and China, to which he went as ambassador from the court of Delhi, at which he resided several years.

14. **Ibn Khaldun's History of the Berbers**; translated by the Rev. Professor Lee.
This rare and valuable Arabic work contains an account of the origin, progress, and decline of the Dynasties which governed the Northern Coast of Africa.
15. **The Tuhfat al Kebar of Kateb Chelebi al Marhoom**: translated by James Mitchell, Esq.
This Turkish History contains a detailed account of the maritime wars of the Turks in the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and on the Danube, &c. from the foundation of their empire in Europe to the commencement of 1640.
16. **The great Geographical Work of Idrisi**; translated by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, B.D.
This Arabic work was written A.D. 1153, to illustrate a large silver globe made for Roger, King of Sicily, and is divided into the seven climates described by the Greek Geographers.
17. **Ibn Khalikan's Lives of Illustrious Men**: translated by Dr. Rosen.
This is a Biographical dictionary, arranged alphabetically, of the most celebrated Arabian historians, poets, warriors, &c., who lived in the seven first centuries of the era of Mahommed, A.D. 700 to A.D. 1400.
18. **Makrisi's Khîtat, or History and Statistics of Egypt**; translated by Abraham Salamé, Esq.
This Arabic work includes accounts of the conquest of Egypt by the Caliphs, A.D. 640; and of the cities, rivers, ancient and modern inhabitants of Egypt, &c.
19. **Part of Mirkhond's Ruzet-al-Suffa**; translated by David Shea, Esq.
The part of this Persian work selected for publication is that which contains the History of Persia from Kaiomurs to the death of Alexander the Great.

Class 3d.—BELLES-LETTRES.

20. **Meher va Mushteri**; translated by Dr. Bernhard Dorn.
This is a popular Persian poem, which celebrates the friendship and adventures of Meher and Mushteri, the sons of King Shapur and his grand Vizier.
21. **Hatim Taë**; translated by Duncan Forbes, Esq., A.M.
This is a popular Persian romance, which narrates the seven perilous adventures of Hatim, an Arab chief.
22. **Ferhad va Shirin**; translated by James Mitchell, Esq.
This Persian poem contains the tale of Ferhad, a celebrated statuary, and Shirin, Princess of Persia. It also includes several curious legends relating to Adam, Mahommed, &c.

REGULATIONS

FOR THE

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE.

1st. THE Committee which is attached to the Royal Asiatic Society for the purpose of selecting and superintending the translation and printing of Oriental works is to be called the "Oriental Translation Committee."

2d. The object of the Committee is to publish, free of expense to the authors, translations of the whole or parts of works in the Oriental languages, accompanied

generally by the original texts, and such illustrations as may be considered necessary. These translations are to be generally printed in English, but in peculiar cases may be printed in Latin or French.

3d. The Committee is empowered to add to its number, to purchase Oriental MSS. or printed books, to present copies of the works printed at the expense of the Oriental Translation Fund to learned Societies and individuals, and to adopt all the means that it may consider to be necessary for executing the plan developed in the Prospectus. No payment, however, exceeding twenty-five pounds, is to be made until approved at two successive Meetings of the Committee.

4th. The Meetings of the Committee will be held as often as the Chairman or Secretary, or any two other Members of it, signing a requisition for that purpose, deem it necessary. All the Members of the Committee resident within one hundred miles of London, are to be summoned to attend each of its Meetings; and five Members, including the Chairman or a Deputy Chairman, and the Secretary, are to constitute a quorum.

5th. The Secretary is charged generally with the business of the Committee, and is to record all the votes of the Committee in a Minute-Book, which every Subscriber has the right of inspecting on application to him.

6th. For the purpose of directing the attention of scholars to the literature of the East, and encouraging translations, the Committee is empowered to give annually, for such works as it may consider deserving of distinction, four rewards in money, in sums of from £50 to £100 each, and four gold medals of the value of fifteen guineas each, inscribed with the names of the individuals to whom they are presented. Any Member of the Committee who sends a work for approval, whether to obtain a reward or medal, or merely to have it printed at the expense of the Oriental Translation Fund, is to cease to act on the Committee until the adoption or rejection of his work is decided on.

7th. No work, although prepared for the press at the expense of the Oriental Translation Fund, is to be printed, until the imprimatur of the Chairman or a Deputy Chairman, and at least twelve Members of the Committee, is obtained.

8th. Every individual or institution subscribing ten guineas or upwards annually to the Oriental Translation Fund, will be entitled to one fine-paper copy of every work translated and printed by the Committee, with the name of the individual or institution subscribing printed on the back of the title-page.

Individuals or institutions subscribing five guineas annually, will be entitled to any of the works published by the Committee, to the amount of their subscriptions, at half the price paid for them by Non-subscribers.

9th. A General Meeting of the Subscribers will be held on the first Wednesday in February, May, August, and November; and a Special General Meeting shall be convened by the Secretary at any time it is required in writing by nine Subscribers, the requisition stating the subject that is to be proposed for consideration.

10th. A General Meeting will be held annually on the first Wednesday in May, to which every Subscriber and Member of the Committee resident in the United Kingdom will be summoned. At that meeting Regulations may be proposed or rescinded; the Auditor will report the receipts and disbursements of the past year; and the Secretary report the progress made in the works that have been commenced, and give an account of those that are proposed for publication in the following year. A copy of each of these Reports will be sent to every Subscriber.

At a MEETING of the SUBSCRIBERS to the ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND, held on Wednesday the 7th of May 1828, at the House of the Royal Asiatic Society,

His Royal Highness PRINCE LEOPOLD of SAXE COBURG, in the Chair.

A communication from Mr. Pettigrew was made to the Meeting, expressing His Royal Highness the Duke of SUSSEX's regret that he was prevented by indisposition from taking the Chair, as had been announced in the circular letter by which the Meeting was convened.

The Right Honourable Sir GORE OUSELEY, Bart., Chairman of the Oriental Translation Committee, read the Prospectus explanatory of the objects of the Subscribers and Committee, the names of the Patrons and Subscribers, and Lists of the Committee, as originally selected by the Royal Asiatic Society, and as subsequently enlarged by the addition of some of the most eminent British Orientalists in various parts of the world.

He then read a Report of the Proceedings of the Committee from the date of its nomination to the present time, accompanied by a list of the Translations that have been offered to it for publication, and submitted to the consideration of the Subscribers the Regulations which had been prepared, for the government of the Committee, in the administration of the Oriental Translation Fund.

It was then moved by the Right Honourable Lord Viscount MELVILLE, seconded by Sir EDWARD HYDE EAST, Bart., M.P., and

Resolved Unanimously,

“THAT the appointment of the Committee named in the list submitted to this Meeting be confirmed.”

Moved by the Right Honourable CHARLES WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, M.P., seconded by Sir EDWARD KERRISON, Bart., M.P., and

Resolved Unanimously,

“THAT the report of the Committee be adopted, and their proceedings approved and confirmed.”

Moved by the Right Honourable the EARL of CASSILIS, seconded by GEORGE WATSON TAYLOR, Esq., M.P., and

Resolved Unanimously,

“THAT the Regulations for the Oriental Translation Committee be confirmed.”

Moved by Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Knt., seconded by the Right Honourable Sir GORE OUSELEY, Bart., and

Resolved Unanimously,

“THAT the grateful thanks of this Meeting be returned to his Royal Highness the DUKE of CLARENCE, for the zealous and efficient manner in which His Royal Highness has promoted the establishment of the Oriental Translation Fund.”

Moved by Sir EDWARD KERRISON, Bart., M.P., seconded by Sir J. WATHEN WALLER, Bart., and

Resolved Unanimously,

“THAT Sir HUTTON COOPER, Bart., M.P., be requested to accept the office of Auditor of the Oriental Translation Fund for the ensuing year.”

Moved by Sir EDWARD HYDE EAST, Bart., M.P., seconded by Sir HUTTON COOPER, Bart., M.P., and

Resolved Unanimously,

"THAT Lieutenant-Colonel FITZCLARENCE be requested to accept the office of
"Treasurer to the Oriental Translation Fund."

Moved by the Right Honourable Earl SPENCER, seconded by the Right Honourable Sir GORE OUSELEY, Bart., and

Resolved Unanimously,

"THAT the most grateful thanks of this Meeting be given to the Council and
"Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, for their liberality in promoting the
"views of the Subscribers to the Oriental Translation Fund, by granting them
"the use of their house and library, and by their splendid annual donation of
"one hundred guineas."

Moved by Sir J. WATHEN WALLER, Bart., seconded by Lieutenant-Colonial WILLIAM BLACKBURN, and

Resolved Unanimously,

"THAT an account of this day's proceedings, preceded by the Prospectus,
"the Report from the Committee, and the Regulations, be printed for distribution."

Moved by Admiral Sir CHARLES MORICE POLE, Bart., seconded by the Right Honourable the Earl of CASSINIS, and

Resolved Unanimously,

"THAT the thanks of this Meeting be given to His Royal Highness the
"DUKE of SUSSEX, for his kind intention of presiding at this meeting, which was
"solely prevented by His Royal Highness's lamented indisposition."

Moved by the Right Honourable Sir GORE OUSELEY, Bart., seconded by Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Knt., and

Resolved Unanimously,

"That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to Lieutenant-Colonel
"FITZCLARENCE, for his great and successful exertions in favour of the Oriental
"Translation Fund."

Moved by the Right Honourable CHARLES WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, M.P., seconded by the Right Honourable Sir GORE OUSELEY, Bart., and

Carried by acclamation,

"THAT the Right Honourable Earl SPENCER be added to the Vice-Patrons of
"the Oriental Translation Fund."

His Royal Highness having left the Chair, it was moved by the Right Honourable Earl SPENCER, seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel FITZCLARENCE, and

Resolved Unanimously,

"THAT the warmest thanks of this Meeting be given to His Royal Highness
"Prince LEOPOLD of SAXE-COBURG, for his able and condescending conduct in
"the Chair."

WM. HUTTMANN,

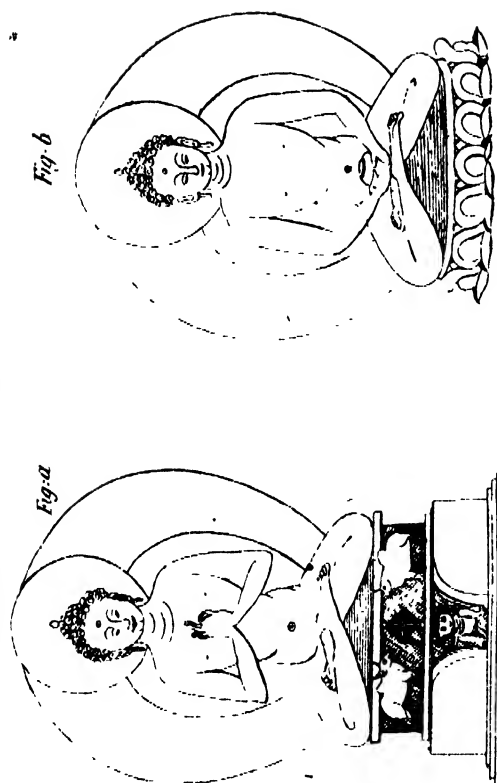
Secretary.

FRONTIERS of the **Burmese and Chinese** **EMPIRES.**

N.B. This is a Fac-simile of the Chinese Map in every point, except the Names of Places & the Numeral Figures, which are of course translated from the original Character.

- Foo, or City of the 1st Order.
- Chow 2nd
- Heen 3rd
- Town, or Frontier Station.
- K Kiang, or Large River.

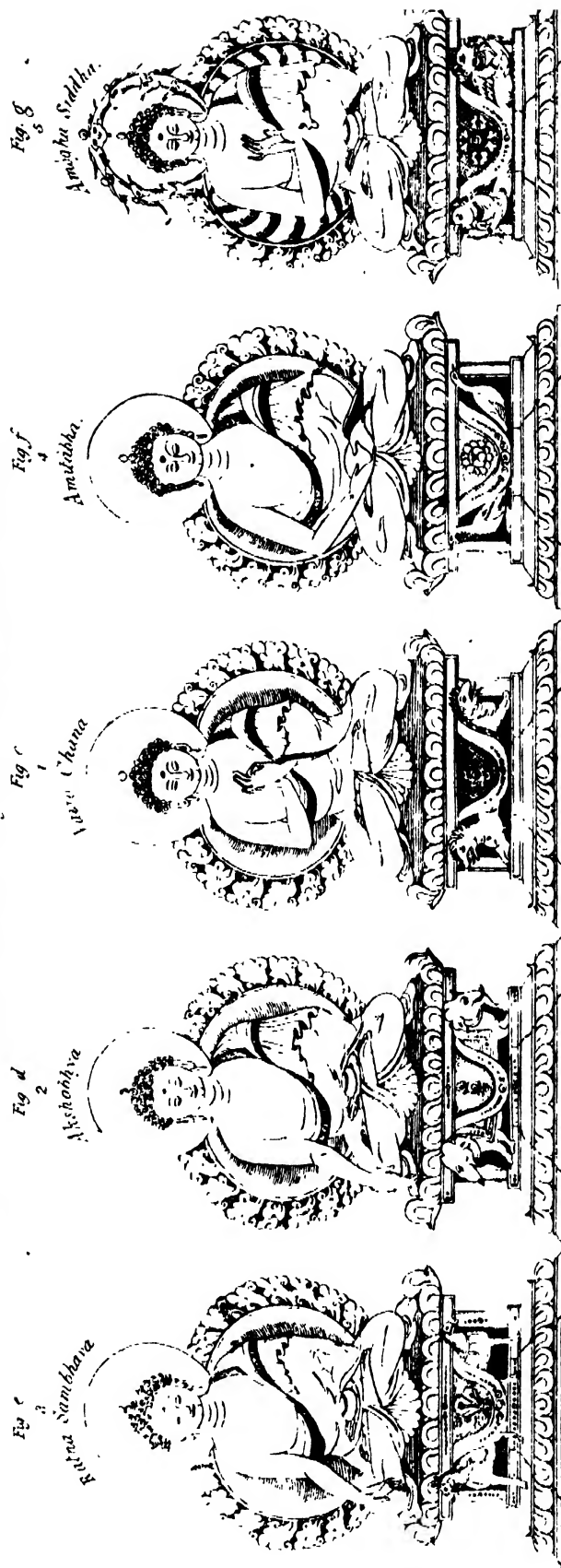
Esoteric Buddhas, styled Yôgambhara & Digâmbhara.



From a Sculpture within
Tachiyadan Vihar at Calcutta.

From a Sculpture within
Tachiyadan Vihar at Calcutta.

The Pancha Buddha Dhyâni, or Five Celestial Buddhas.



The *Cipariyāṇā* or Theridā Trīad.

Fig. b.



Fig. a.



Fig. c.



Fig. e.



Fig. d.



Fig. f.



Copied from Ancient Sculptures. By a Nepalese Painter in the service of M. Bodan.

Fig. h.

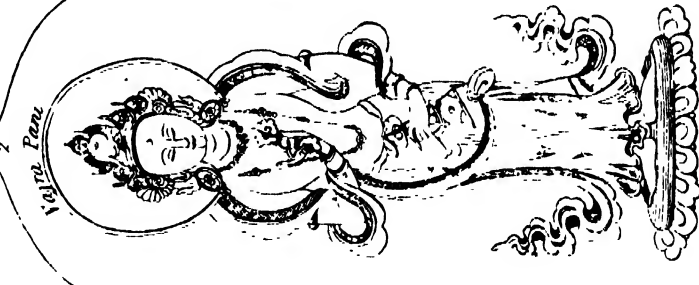


Fig. g.



Fig. k.



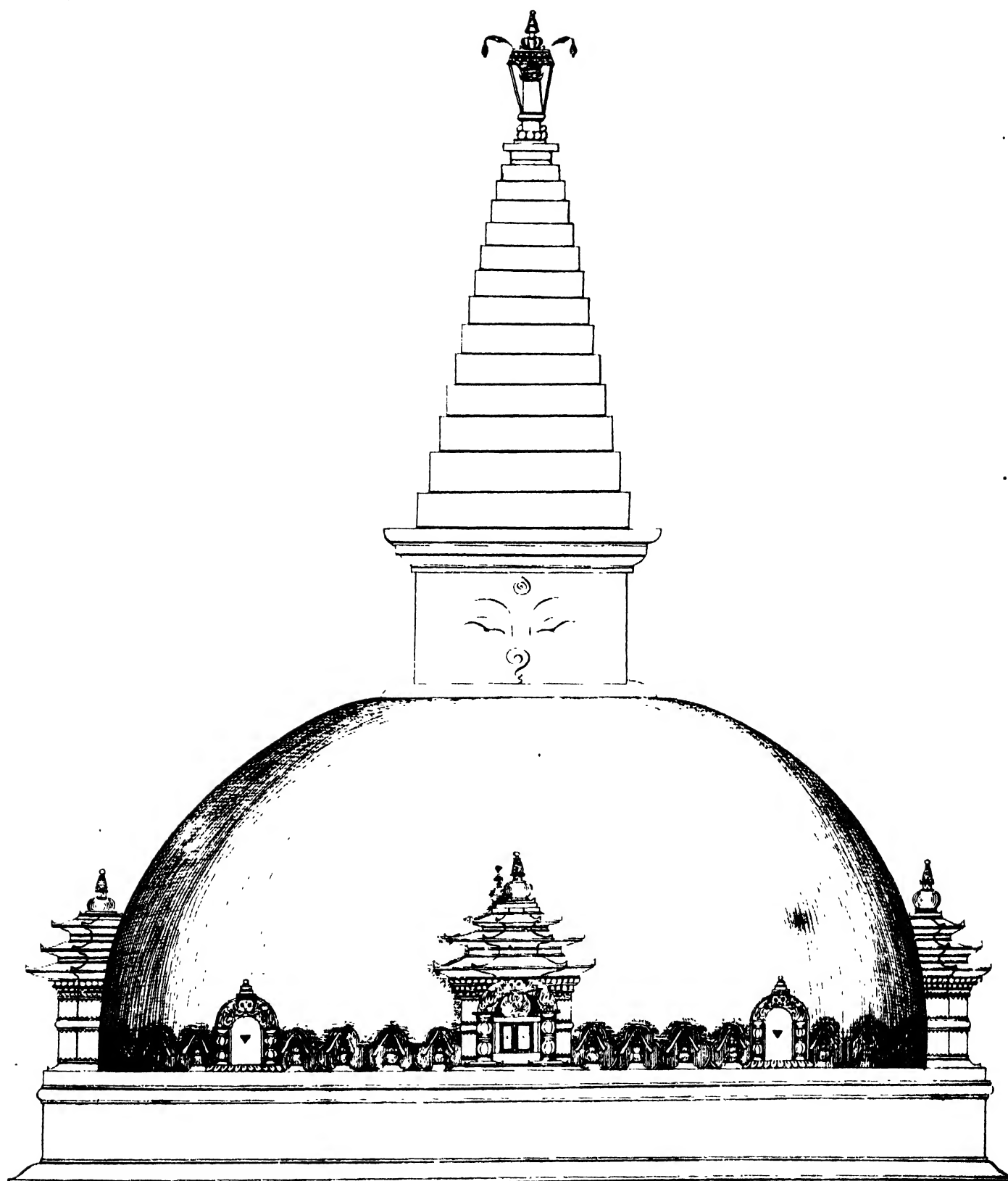
Fig. l.



Copied from Ancient Sculptures. By a Nepalese Painter in the service of M. Bodan.

The Pancha Dhāryāni Bōdhi-Satwa or Five Celestial Bōdhi-Satwas

Copied from Ancient Sculptures. By a Nepalese Painter in the service of M. Bodan.

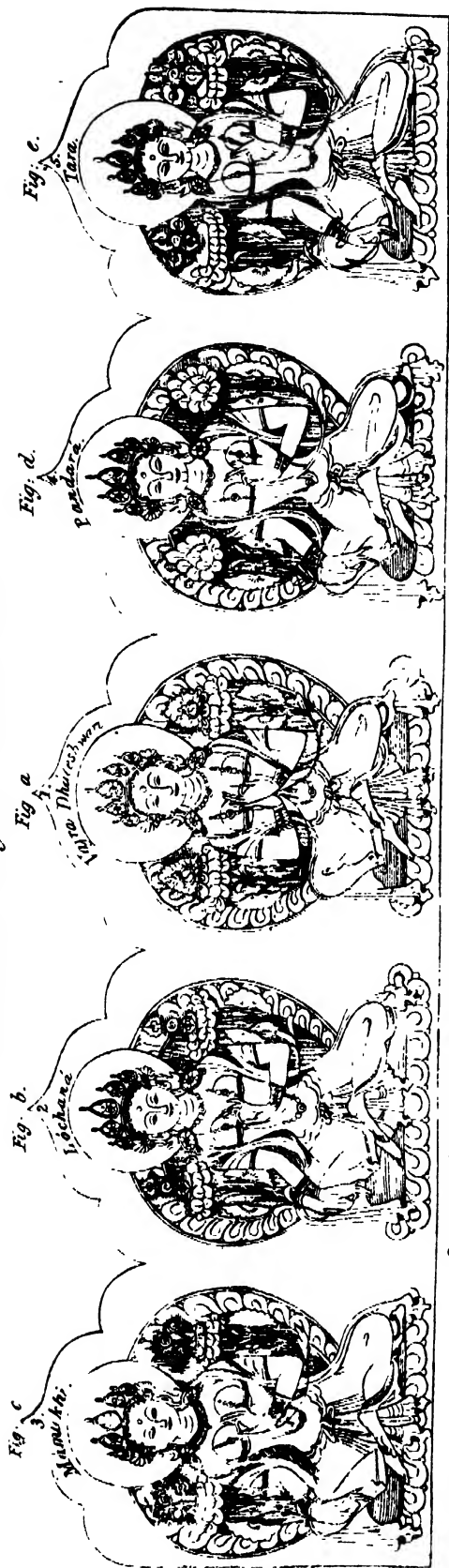


J. Netherclift-Libbey, for the Royal Asiatic Society

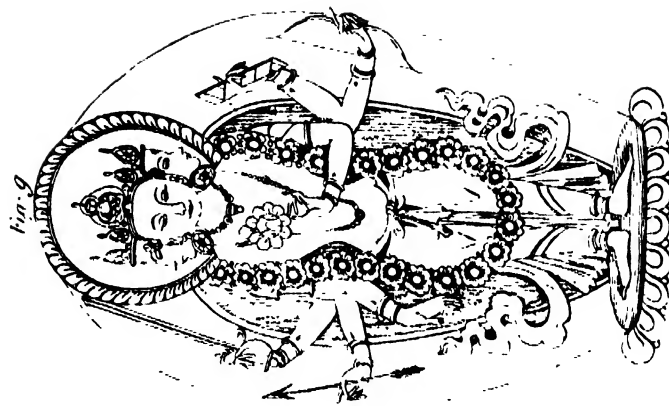
from a drawing by a Nepalese Painter

THE CHAITYA OF DEVA PATANA.

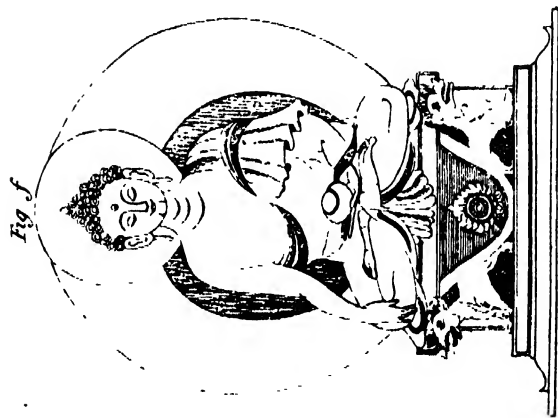
The Pancha Dhyani Buddh-Sakti.



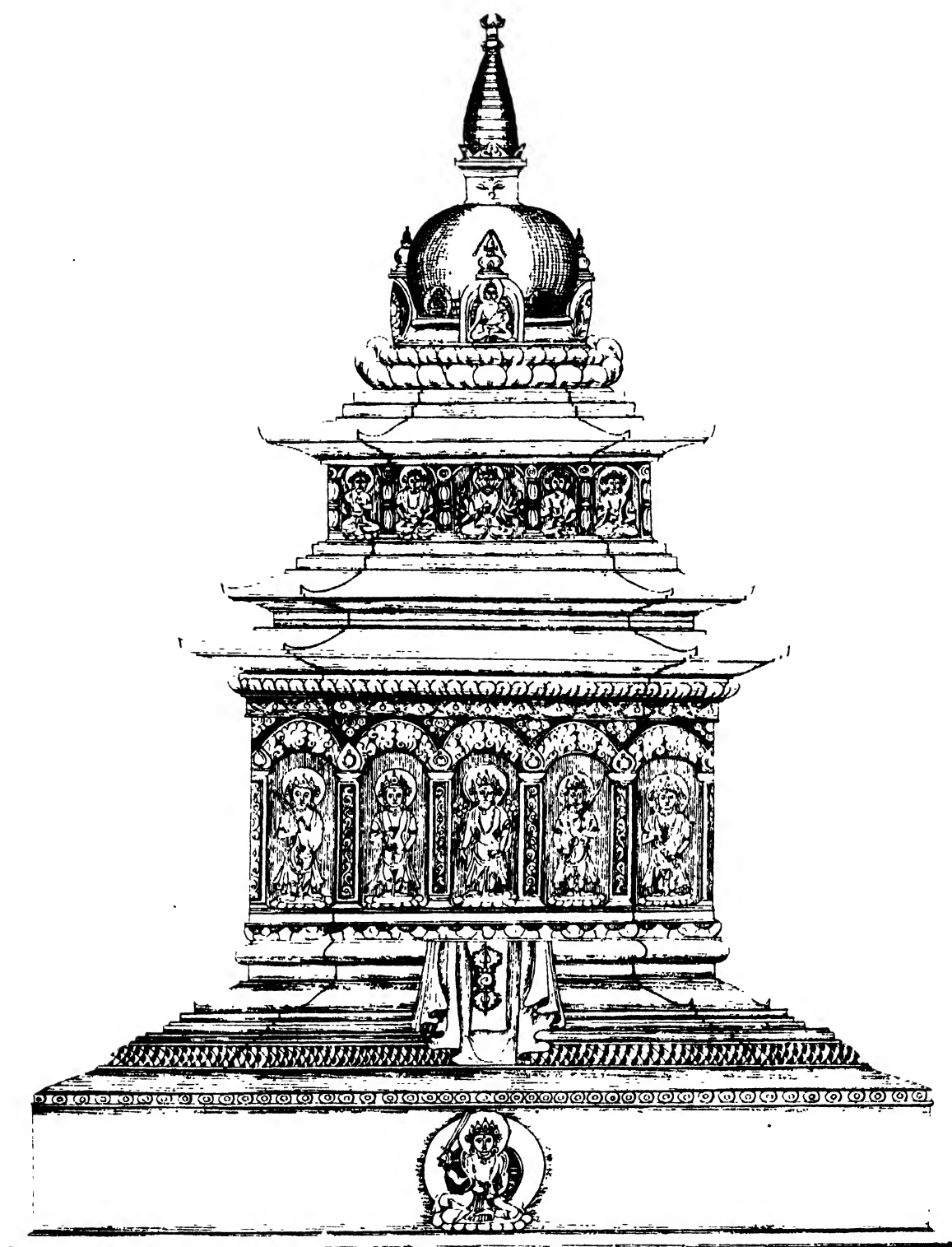
Copied from high reliefs on a Wall of the Vihar of Karna Gili in Cutchmandu. By a Nepalese Artist.



Lokha Natha
From an Inscribed Sculpture found at Sambhū Nath Temple.



Sakya Sinha Buddha.
From a Gigantic Image at the foot of Mount Sambhū

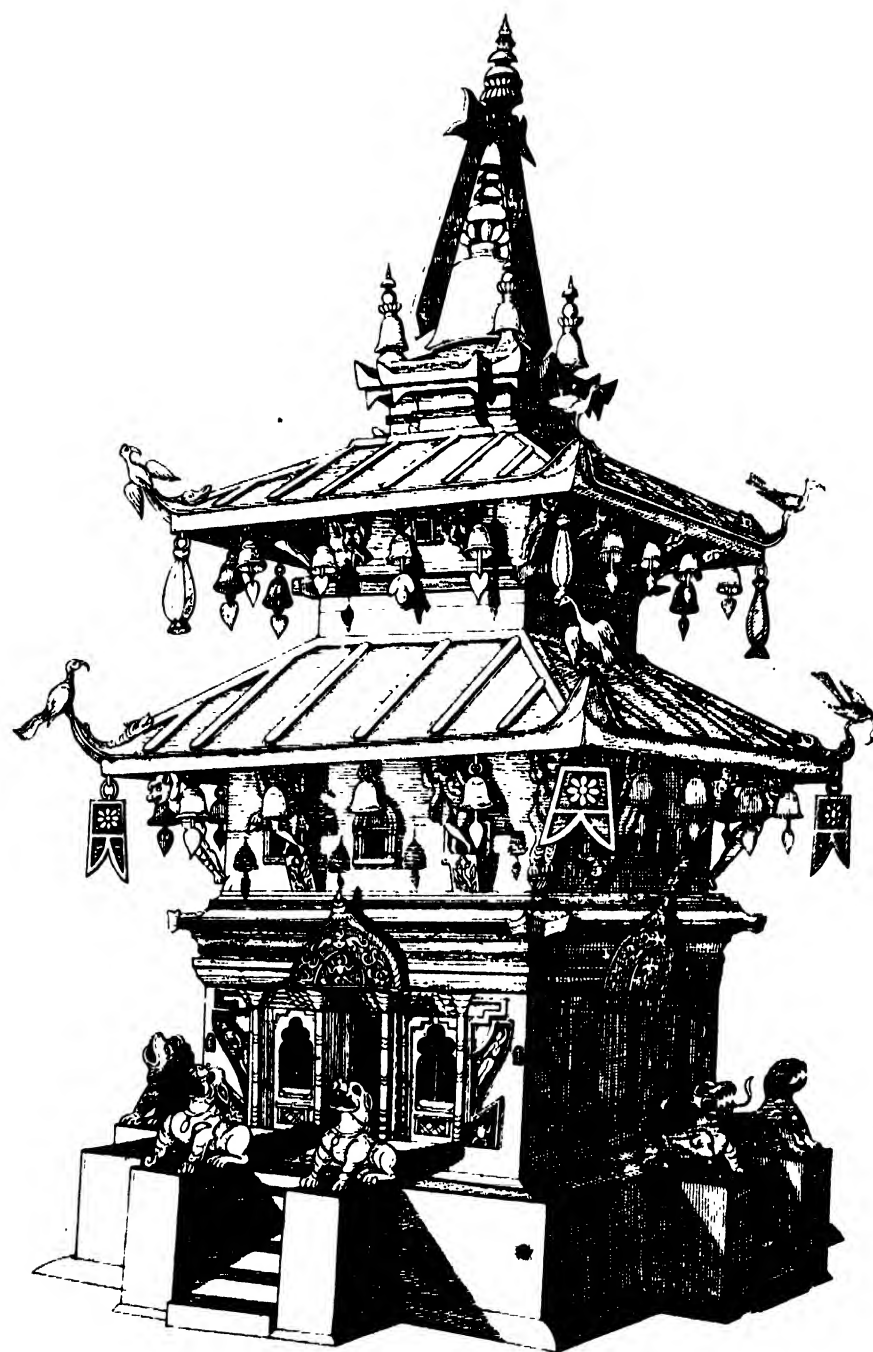


Nicholson Library for the Royal Asiatic Society

A KÓSTHÁKÁR, or COMPOSITE, CHAITYA.

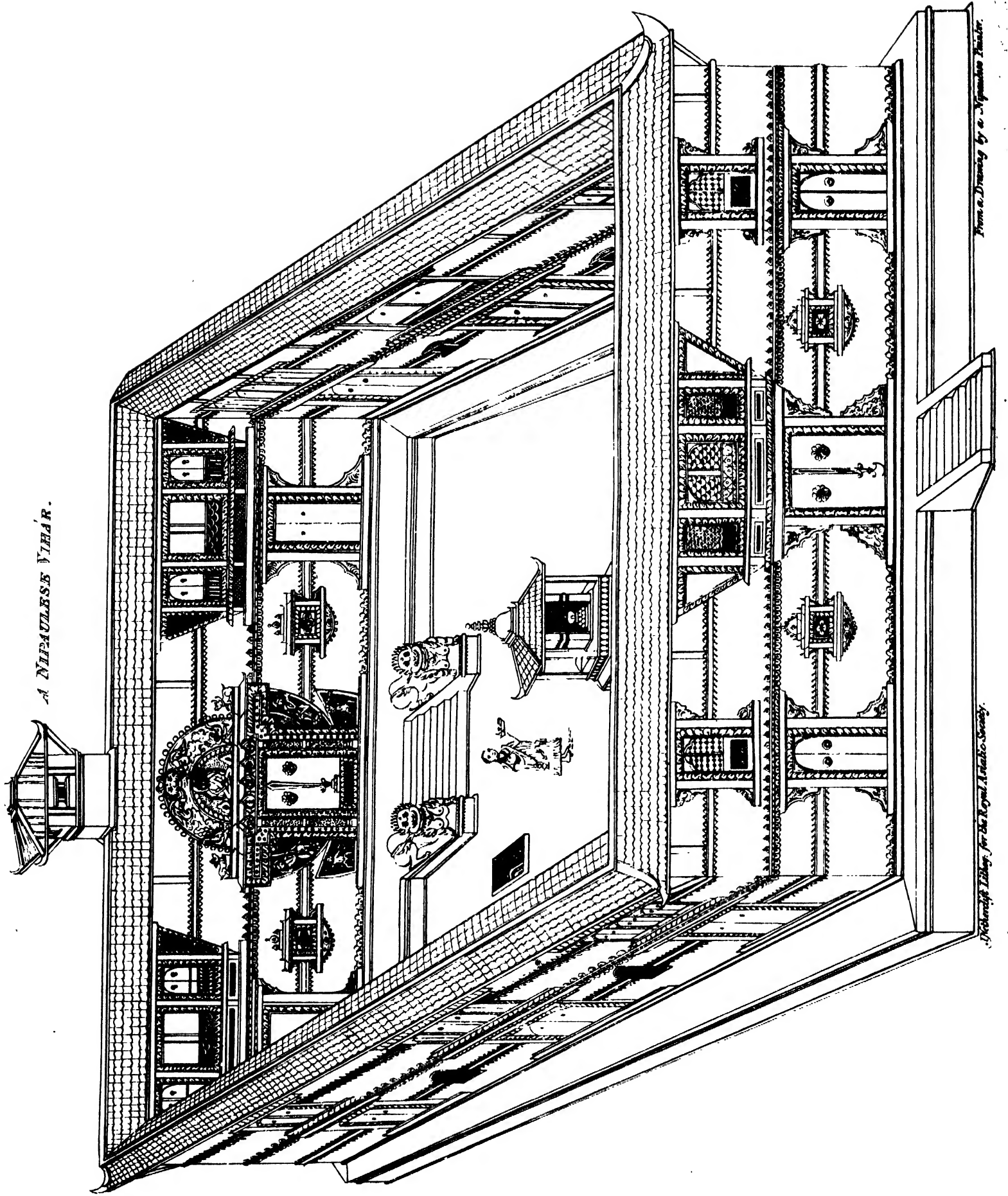
Copied, from the Original on Mount Sámhú, by a Nepaulese Artist.

N.B. The lower part of this Structure is a Square, and hollow within.



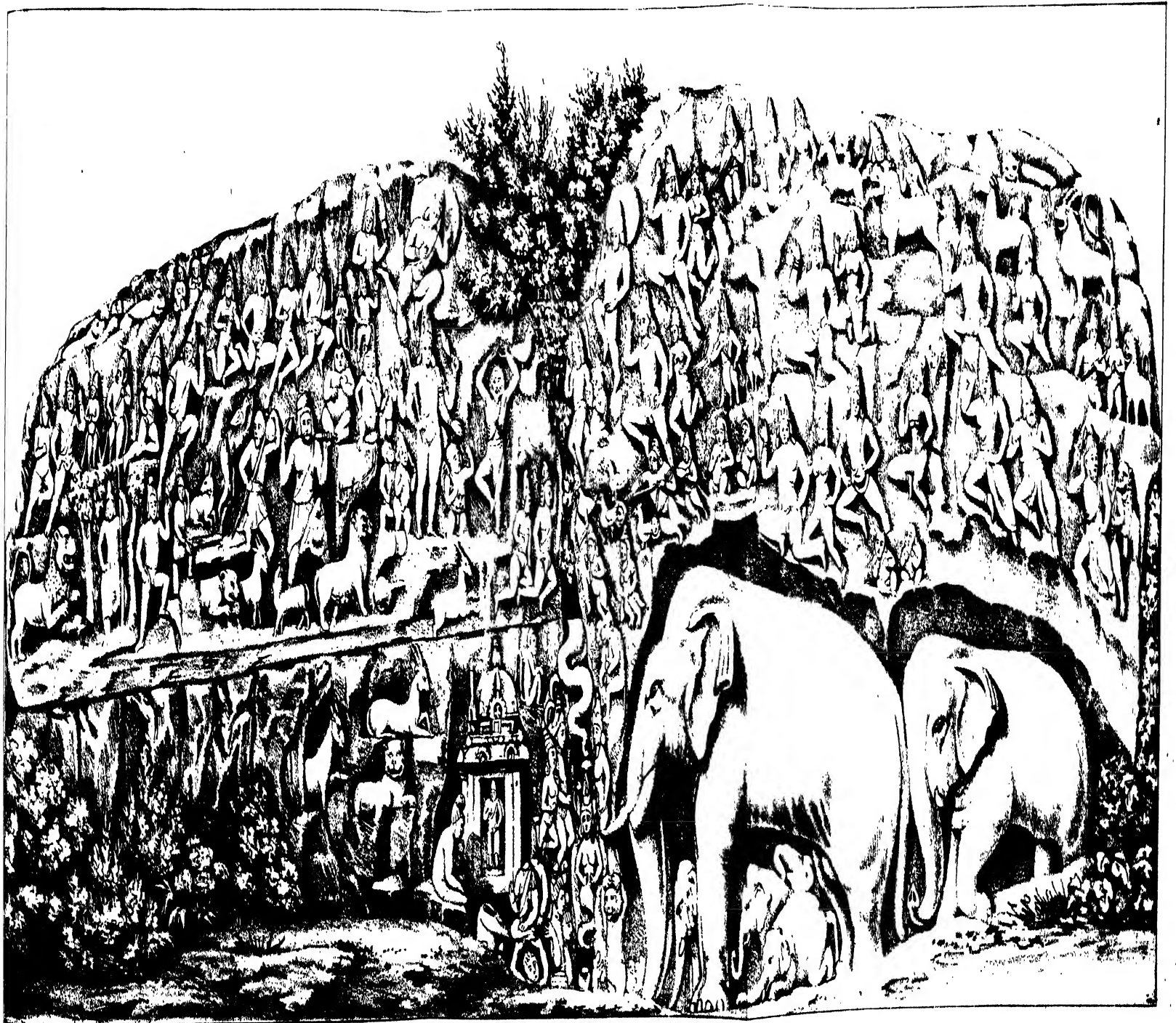
A COMMON NICAL TEMPLE.

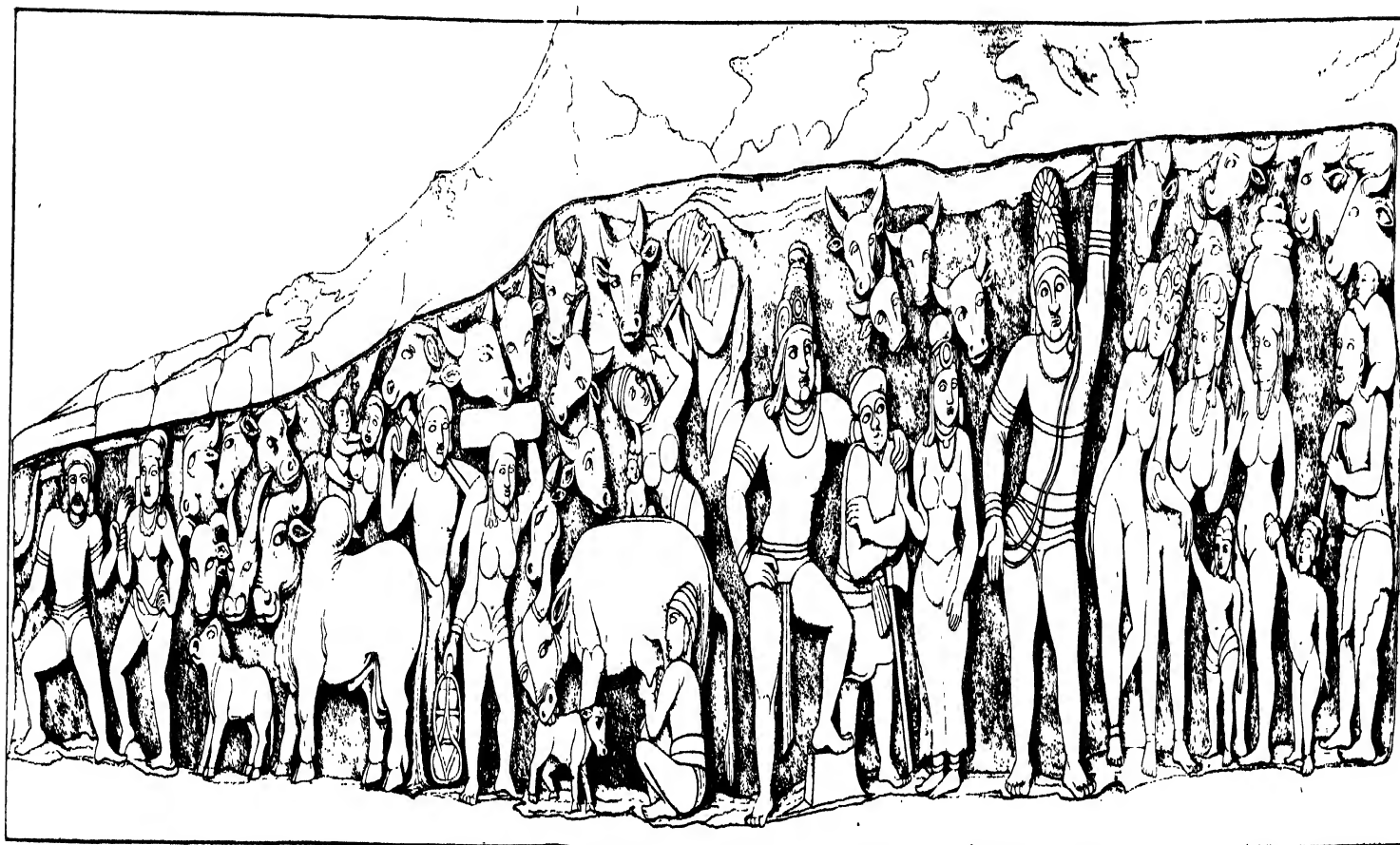
A NIPAULESS VĪHĀR.



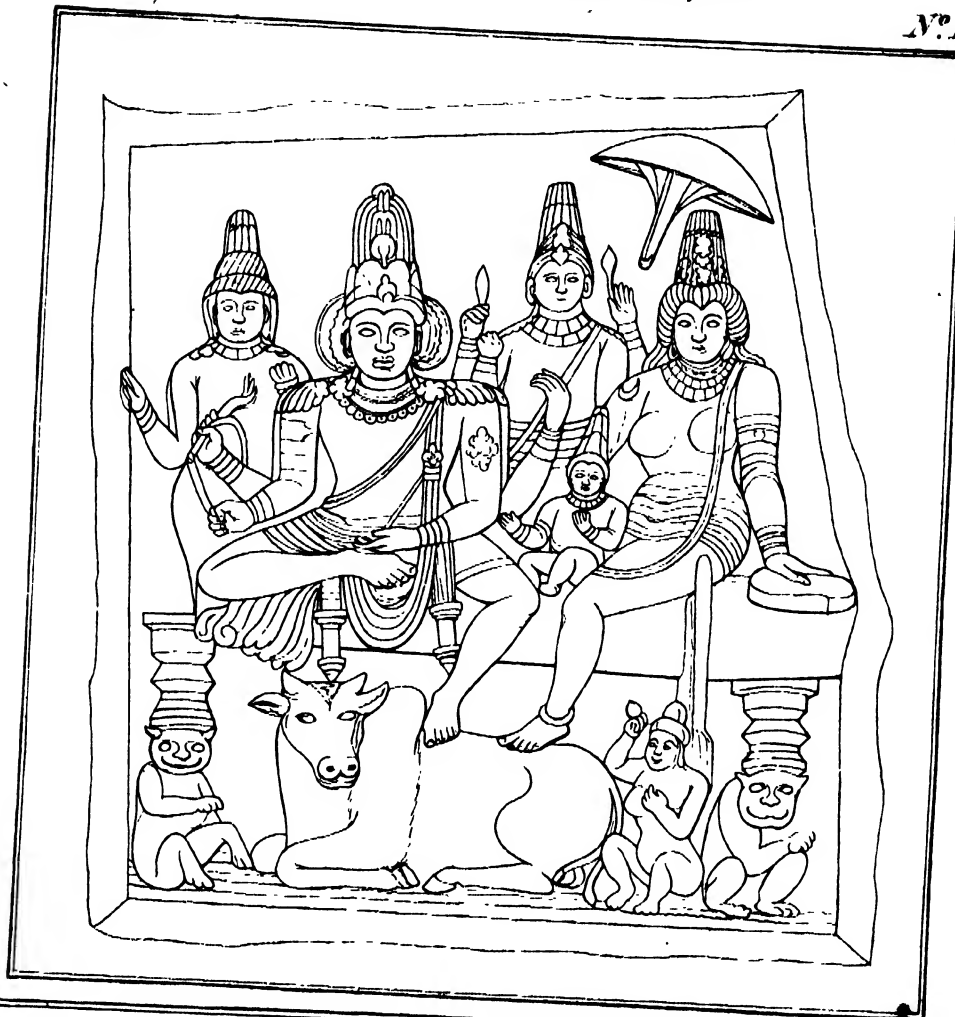
Architectural Library for the Royal Asiatic Society.

From a Drawing by a Nepalese Painter.

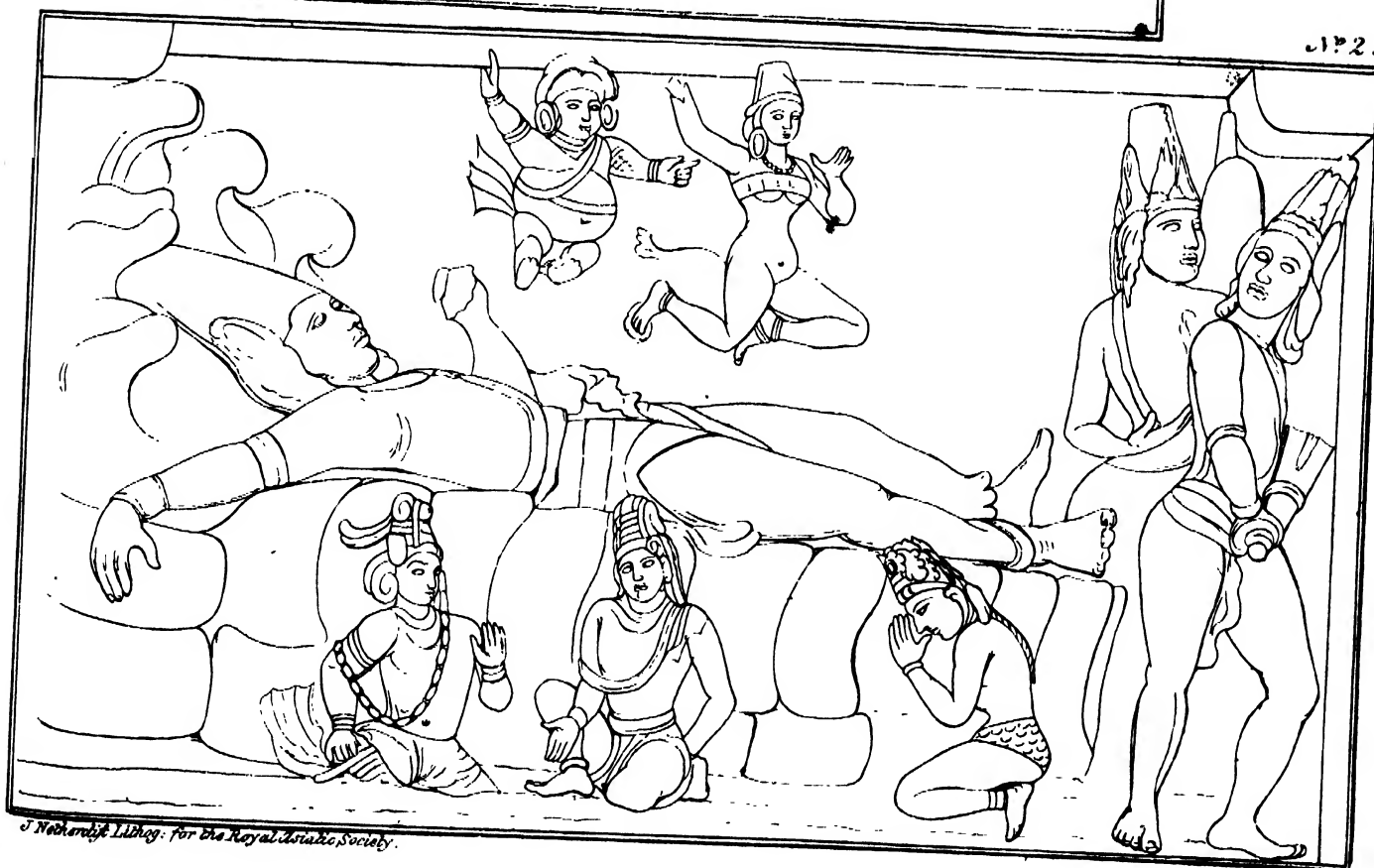




Nº 1.

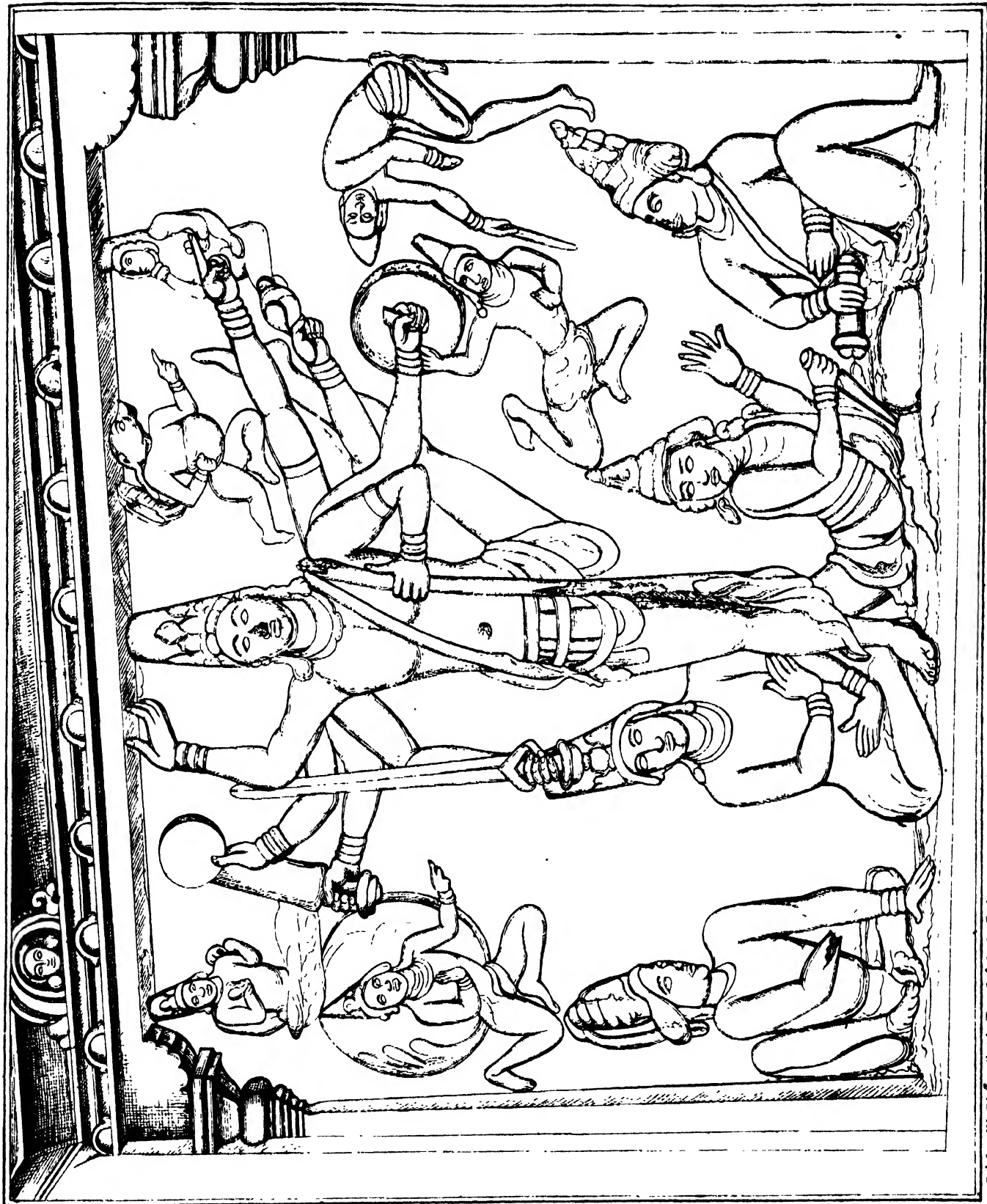


Nº 2.



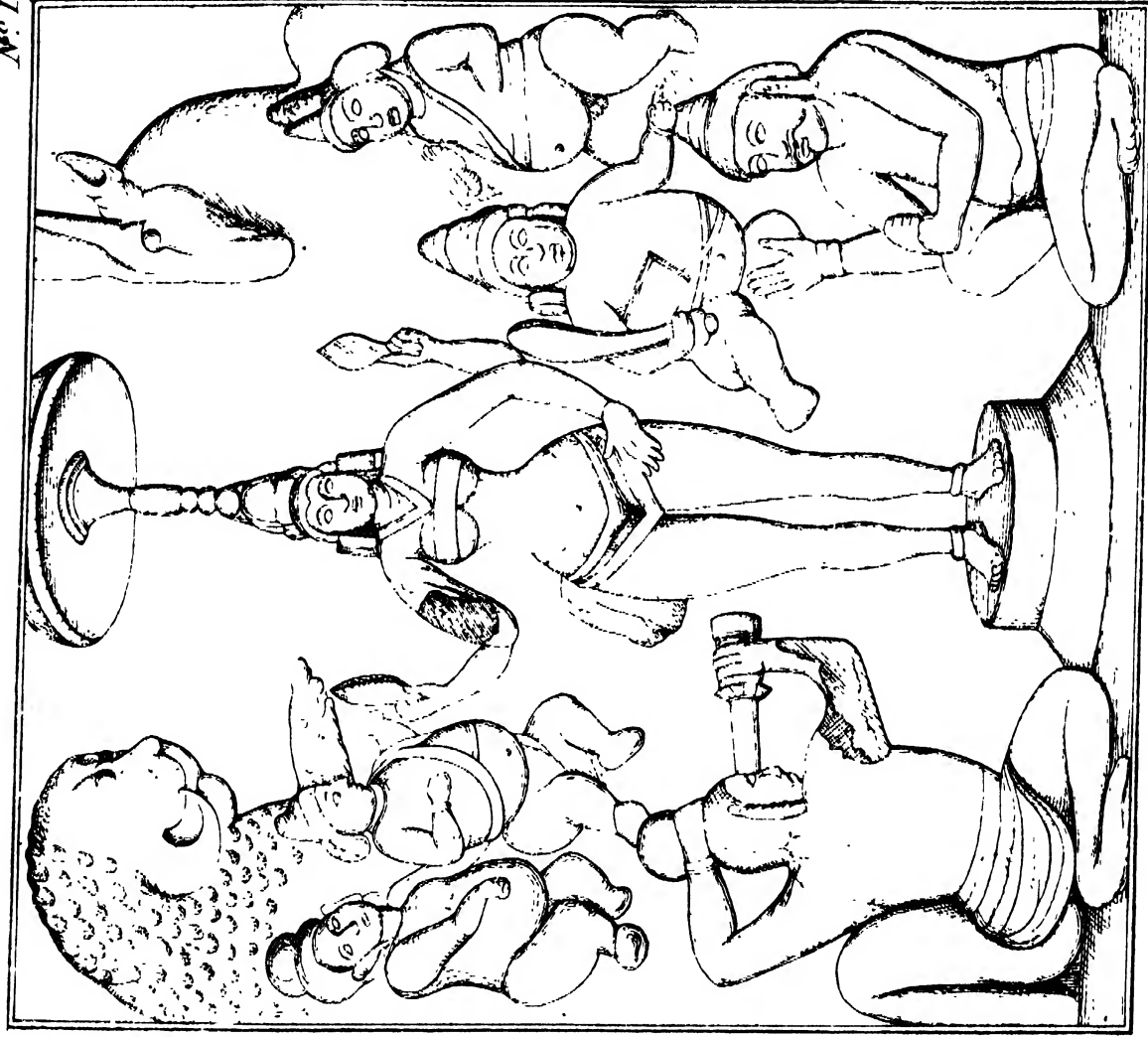






Pl. 7.

No. 1.



(St. Meinrad's Ladies, for the Girls' Social Society)

No. 3.

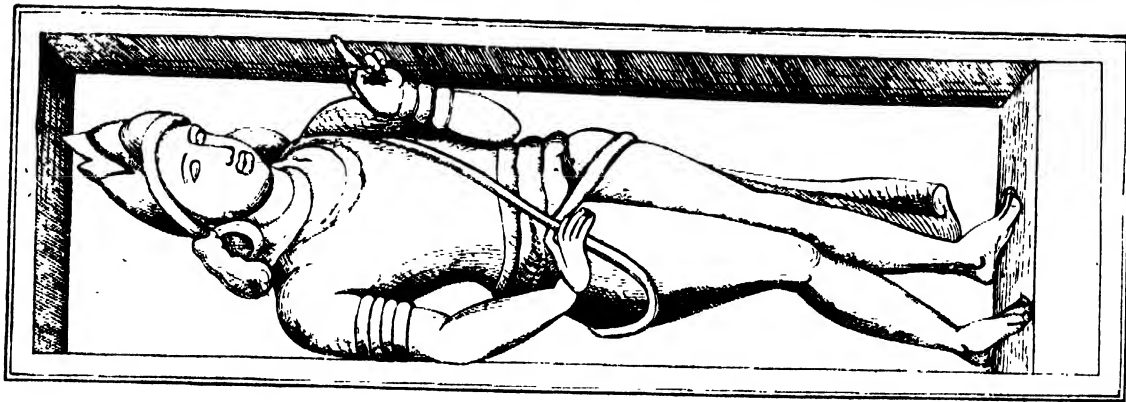


171.



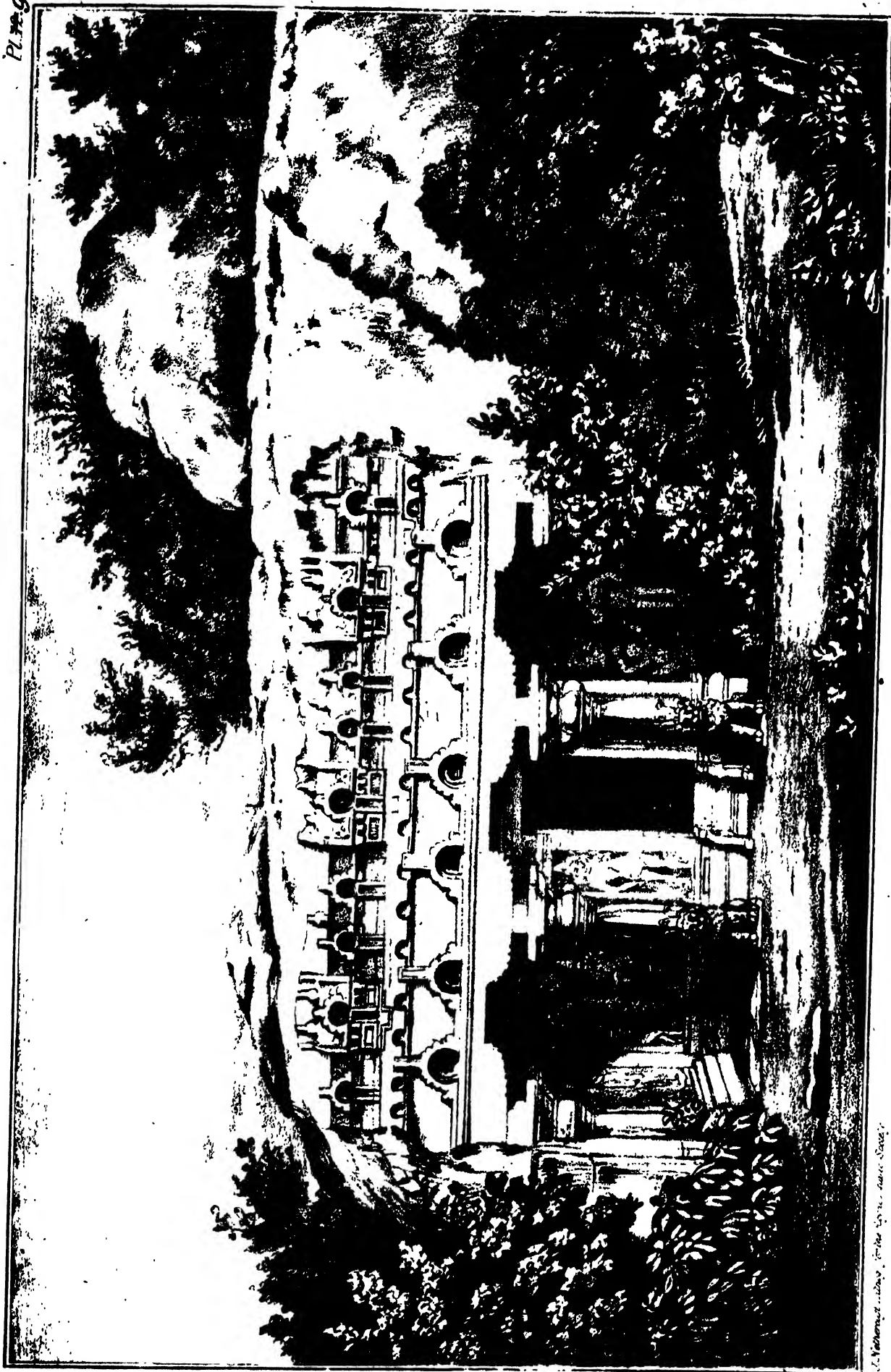
After the L. 1100 in the Royal Indian Mus.

172.



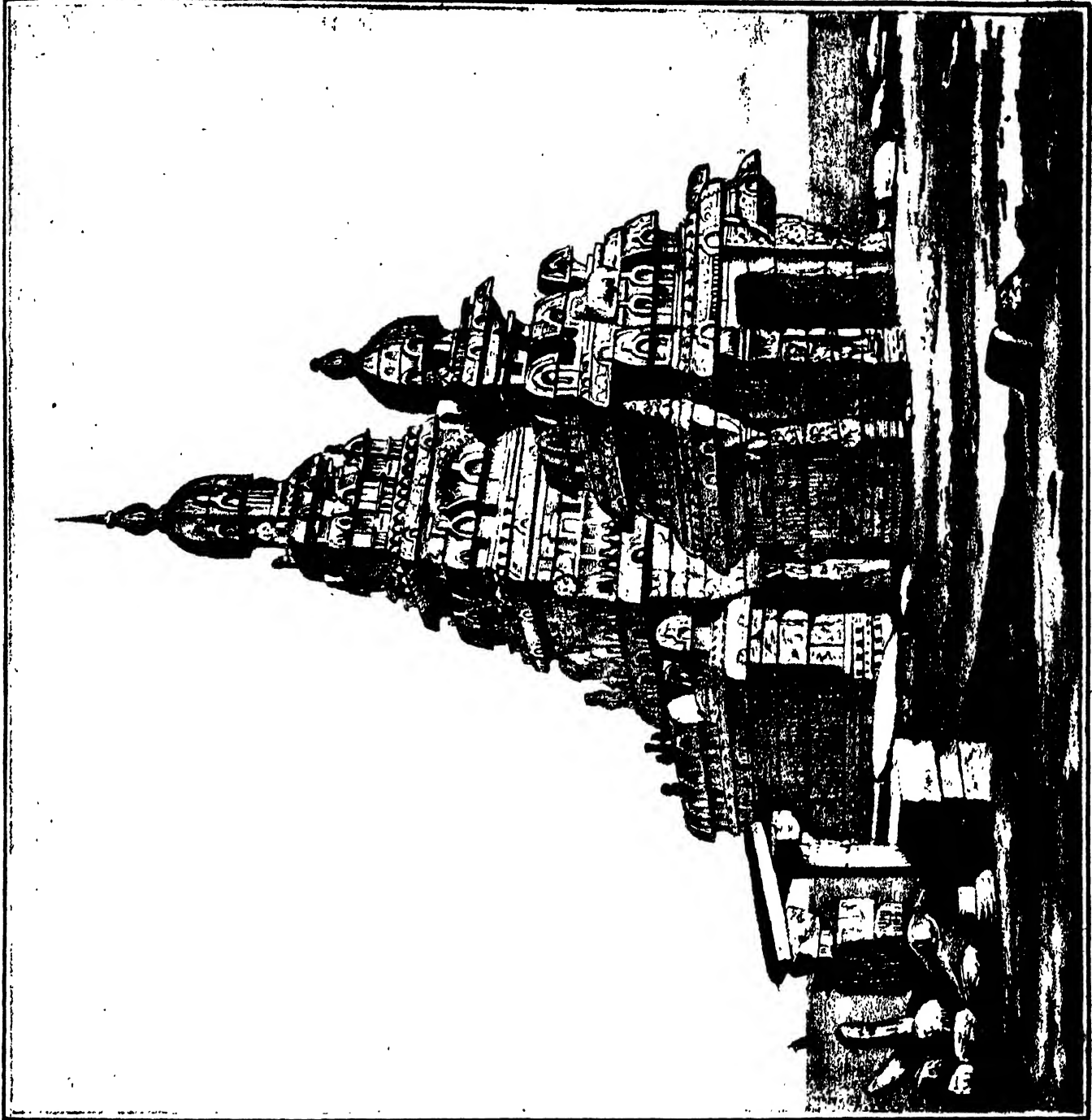
Sculptures at Mahabalipur.

Pl. 9

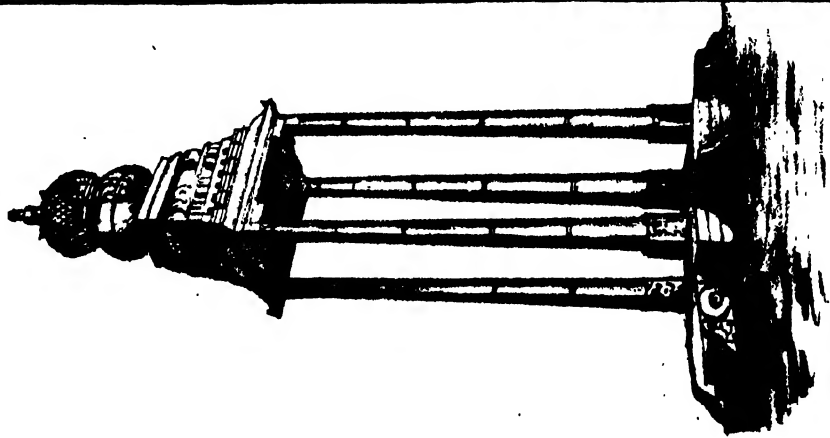


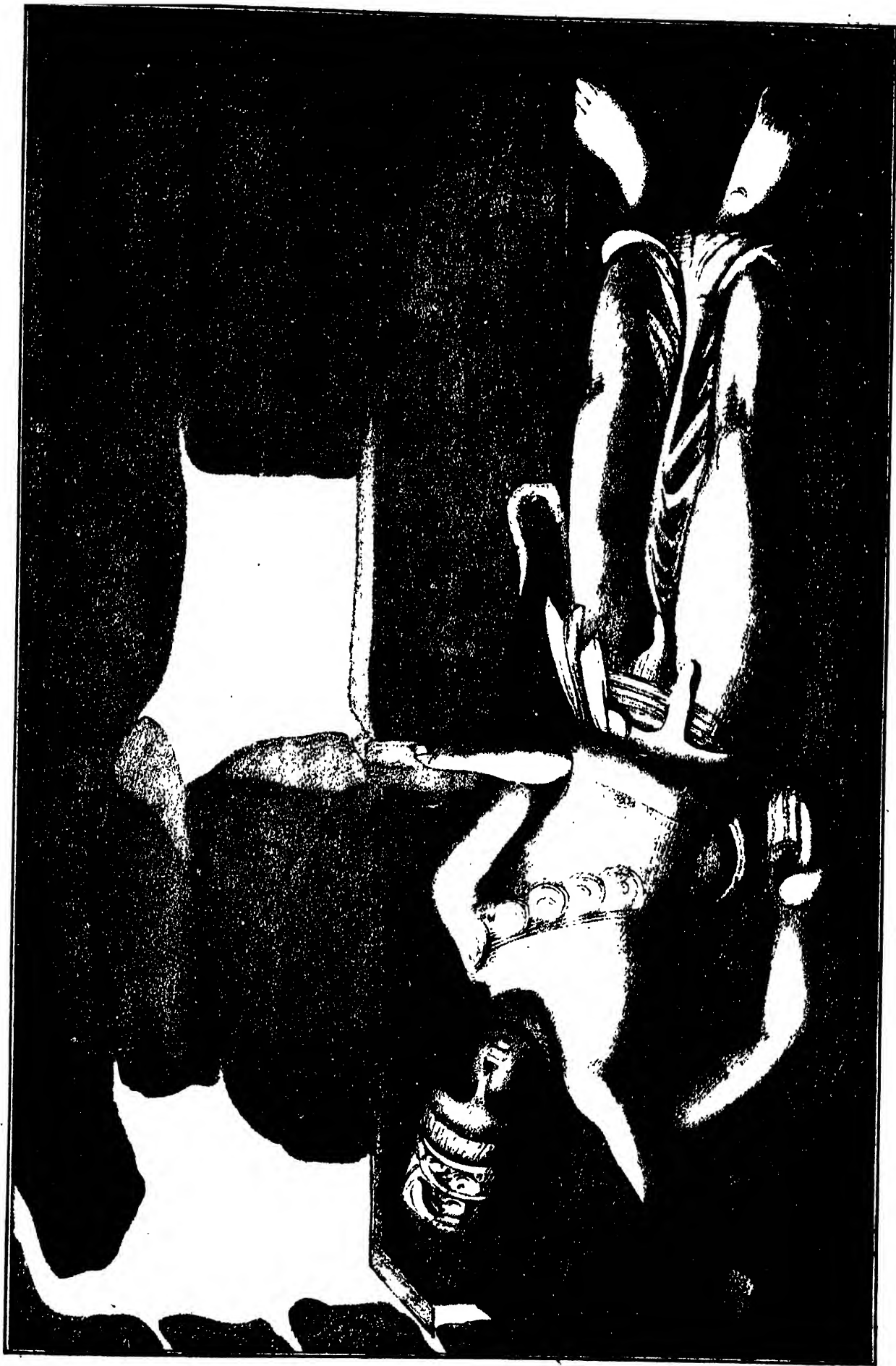
Photograph by the Hon. Mr. S. S. S. S.





J. M. W. Turner, Esq., for the Royal Academy, 1841.





[illegible]

No. 1.

[illegible]

No. 3.

[illegible]

The same in modern Grant.ha & Devanāgarī:

[illegible]

No. 2.

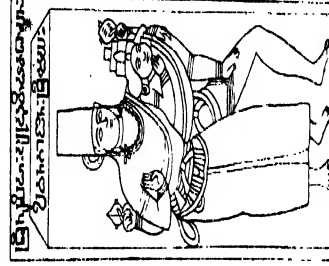
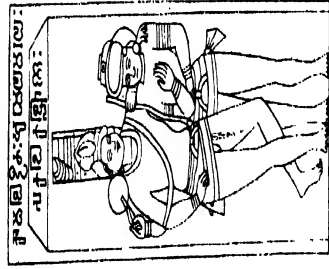
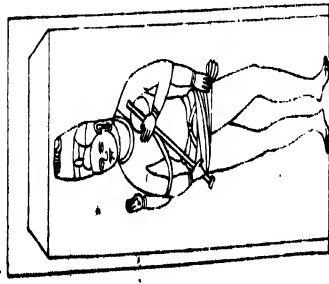
[illegible]

हिमगिरितनयागुहगणसहितो नित्यतृकतरति
(करोत) (भक्त्युपशुपतिः ॥)

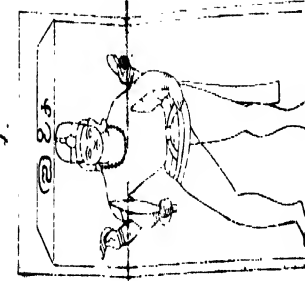
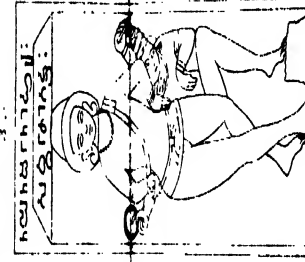
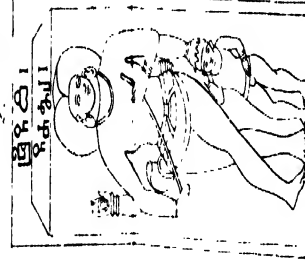
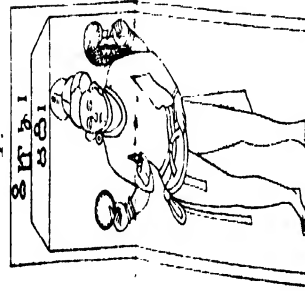
Figures Sculptured on one of the Rathas — Mahāmālayipur.

Pl. 16.

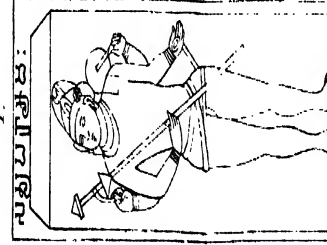
Upper Gallery — North Side.



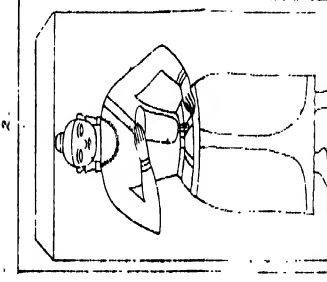
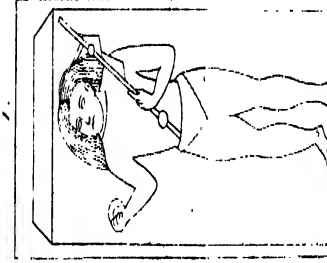
Upper Gallery — South Side.



West Side.

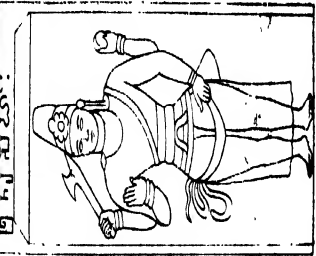


Upper Gallery — East Side.

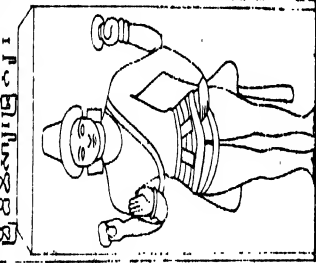


Figures Sculptured on another Ratha.

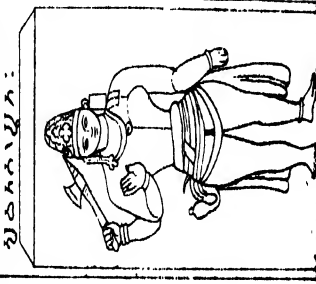
On the South Side, East Corner.



On the East Side, South Corner.



On the East Side, North Corner.



At Mahāmālayipur, for the Royal Ratha, South.



width 4 ft.

Fig. 1

MĀHADĒVA, PARVATĪ AND LAKSHMĪ.

*Carved in the cave temple of Kailash, N. India.
 Executed by Capt. W. B. Blandy, R.E., in the 18th century.
 Lithographed by the Rev. J. B. Blandy, R.E., in the 19th century.*

over the Figures on the Rathas - Mahāmalaipur.

Original.

The same in Devanagari

English Translation.

<p>କାଞ୍ଚିକ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦୟାଞ୍ଜନା :</p>	<p>କାମଳକିତ: ଅମେୟମାୟ: ସକଳକଲ୍ୟାଣ:</p>	<p>Dallying as Cāma - of uncom- - hensible delusion The all fortunate.</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଶ୍ରୀନରସିଂହ: ଅପ୍ରତିହତଶାସନ: ଭୁବନଭାଜନ: ଶ୍ରୀମେଘ:</p>	<p>The holy Man-Lion - of irres- - titable authority The Mundane Vepel - The sacred</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ସ୍ଥିରଭକ୍ତି: ମଦନାଭିରାମ: ବିଧି</p>	<p>The firm in faith - The beautiful Cāma - Deva The Agent - a name of Visha</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ବିଭ୍ରାନ୍ତ: ବିଧି:</p>	<p>The confused The Agent</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଶ୍ରୀନିଧି: ନିରୁତ୍ତର:</p>	<p>The abode of Prosperity. The unmeasured</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ନୟନମନୋହର: ସର୍ବତୋମୟ:</p>	<p>The delight of the eyes The universally benevolent</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଲକ୍ଷିତ</p>	<p>The Lovely</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ସତ୍ୟପରାକ୍ରମ:</p>	<p>The truly valorous</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଶ୍ରୀନରସିଂହ:</p>	<p>The holy Man-Lion (Vishnu's) 1st Avatar</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>Bharah - (a name of Vishnu) the sacred cherisher</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଭୁବନଭାଜନ:</p>	<p>The Mundane Vepel</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ପରାବର:</p>	<p>The Lord - (a word in use in the South of India.)</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଭୟାନକ:</p>	<p>The terrible destroyer</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ବାମ:</p>	<p>The crooked, a name of Śiva</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଅତିମାନ:</p>	<p>The unmeasured.</p>
<p>ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ: ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ତ: ଧୂଢ଼ୟଧାୟ:</p>	<p>ଶ୍ରୀ ଅଦ୍ୟନ୍ତକାମପଞ୍ଚେଶ୍ବର ବିହାରଭୋଜୟ:</p>	<p>The happy Bhogaryah ? - of acces- sive lust - Lord of Love - moving sportively.</p>

*Characters of the Ancient Inscription in the Ganesha Pagoda at Mahāmalaipur,
with the corresponding characters in Roman, Devanāgarī, and Grantha.*

Pl. 18.

a	अ	ā	आ	am	अः	ah	अः	ca	क	cā	का	cā	का	cai	कै	eti	कि	crā	क्रा	cha	ख	ga	ग	ga	ग	ga	ग
mka	क	mka	का	ma	म	cha	च	ja	ज	ja	जा	jo	जो	da	द	na	न	ma	मा	me	मे	ta	त	ta	ता	ta	ता
ti	ति	te	ते	to	तो	to	तो	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति
dhi	धि	dhe	धे	ma	म	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न
bha	भ	bha	भा	bha	भ	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म
ra	र	ri	रि	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र
si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि	si	सि
sma	स्म	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य	sya	स्य

*Characters of the Ancient Inscriptions over the bas-relief Figures on the Rathas at Mahāmalaipur,
with the corresponding characters in Roman, Devanāgarī, and Grantha.*

a	अ	ā	आ	ah	अः	ah	अः	ca	क	cā	का	kra	क	crā	क्रा	eti	कि	gha	घ	ja	ज	na	न	ta	त	ti	ति
to	तो	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति
ma	म	ma	मा	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म
me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे	me	मे
sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स	sa	स
pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प	pa	प
ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र	ra	र
ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य	ya	य
la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल	la	ल
va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व	va	व
sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श	sha	श
ma	म	ma	मा	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म	ma	म
na	न	na	ना	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न	na	न
ta	त	ta	ता	ta	त	ta	त	ta	त	ta	ता	ta	त	ta	ता	ta	त	ta	ता	ta	त	ta	ता	ta	त	ta	ता
ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति	ti	ति





